

ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE EAST

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PART I.

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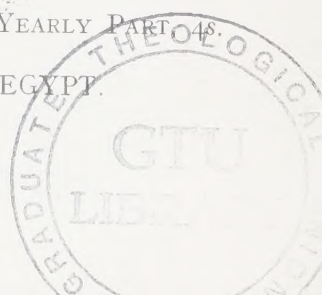
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QUEEN TETY-SHERY.

(By Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE EAST

TREASURES OF ANCIENT GAZA.

THE past season has been most successful in the discovery of fine work, foreign connections, and foreign trade at Ancient Gaza. The southern end of the Tell, over four acres, was completely excavated; it had been greatly denuded, but remaining buildings were planned. Also a large number of tombs were found, which contained untouched burials. These were none of them later than the Hyksos age, and some may well be of the XIIth dynasty.

The amount of gold work which remained was surprising, and not only in tombs but in three hoards which belonged to dealers in old metal. Several reliefs of gold and silver were doubled up into lumps ready for melting. Happily, the largest piece was uninjured (see fig. 1 centre, scale $\frac{2}{3}$). This is a pendant for a worshipper of the Great Mother-goddess of Syria, in polished gold. At

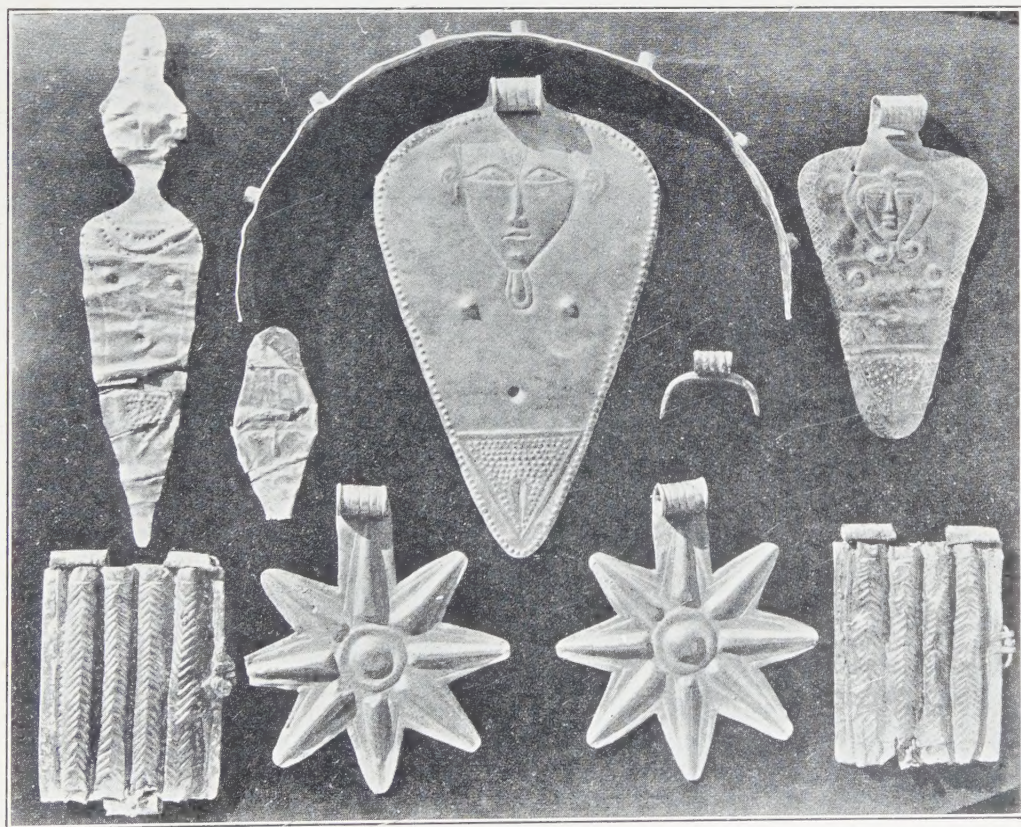


FIG. 1.—THE GREAT MOTHER, STARS, &C., IN GOLD. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

the right hand is a lesser plaque showing the goddess with the head-dress of Hathor. On the other hand is a figure of the goddess in silver. Below are two large stars of embossed gold, between two pieces probably from a gold belt. The curved bar above is a frontlet of electrum with seven sockets to hold golden flowers, such as were found loose in the burials.

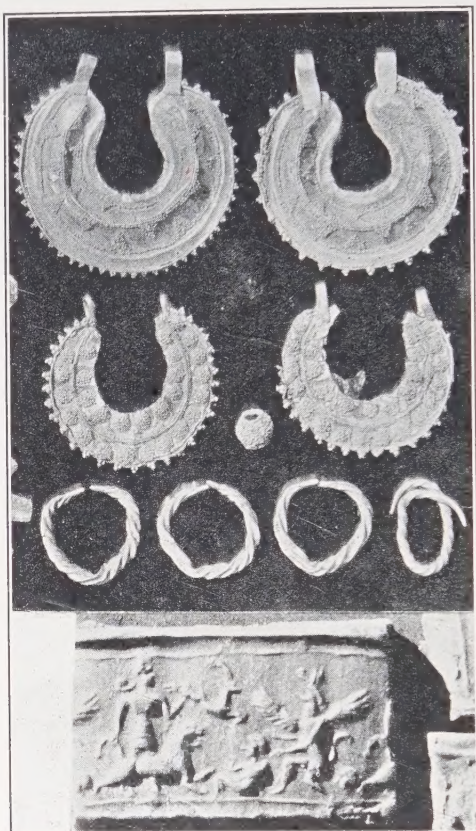


FIG. 2.—GOLD EARRINGS, CYLINDER SEAL. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

In the same hoard were gold earrings (fig. 2) covered with granular gold work as triangular piles of pellets. Two plates were embossed, and then joined together at the edges before the granules were fixed on and added around the edge. Such work has not been seen before. Below are twisted gold earrings of the Irish pattern.

An extraordinary type of earring (fig. 3), found in a grave, had a central disc, a superposed oval, and pointed wings of blue glass inlay in a gold frame, ending below in a ram's head. Underneath is a string of beads of onyx and blue glazed quartz; below are gold beads and a string of silver beads. At the top of the group is part of an embossed diadem of gold. A great variety of gold ornaments was also found, about 150 objects, of which more than a third are duplicates. No true soldering was used, except silver on gold in a few instances; the regular joining is by autogenous solder, that is, sweating the surfaces together when plastic.

Scarabs were thrice as many as before, over 450 in this season. They are nearly all of Canaanite facture; a new name is that of a king Yma-Set, besides

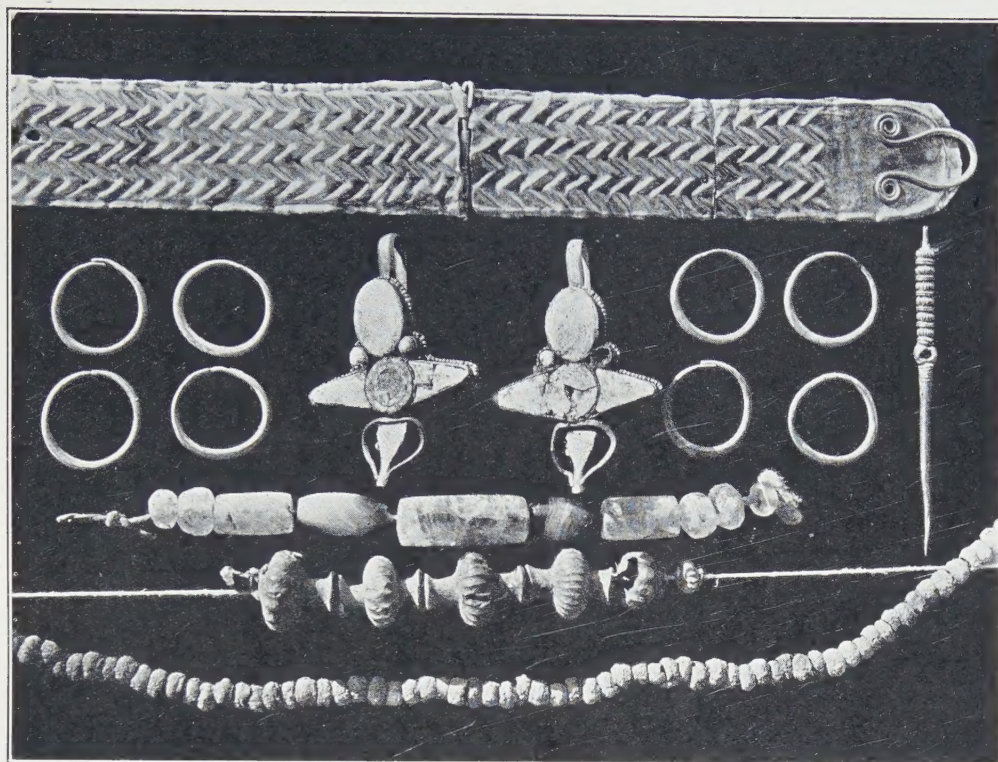


FIG. 3.—DIADEM AND CRUCIFORM EARRINGS. ($\frac{2}{3}$)

the well-known kings Ra-maot-ab, Ra-oa-hetep, and Shesha. Some cylinders of haematite were mostly of rough work; one, however, is very minutely engraved (see base of fig. 2). It represents a man, with long hair-curl at the back, holding in the left hand the tail of the goat-fish emblem of Ea, and in the right hand the tail of a lion. The beast is advancing ferociously on a man sitting helpless on the ground. Behind him is a winged figure of Horus, with falcon head and crown of Egypt, advancing with outstretched hands to protect the seated man. It may be a political scene of Palestine helpless, attacked by Syria and supported by Egypt; but it is at least a thousand years earlier than



FIG. 4.—CRANES PAINTED ON JAR.



FIG. 5.—GEESE PAINTED ON JAR.

any such history known to us. The excellent proportions and fine work are more northern than southern.

More painted pottery was found, especially in a stone-lined pit in a tomb. This contained various forms not known before, besides parts of four painted vases. On the shoulder of a great jar were two scenes of cranes (fig. 4), fighting,



FIG. 6.—STONE WALLING OF LARGE BUILDING.



FIG. 7. DOORWAY AND WELL.

and eating a fish. Part of another jar had two figures of geese (fig. 5). A third jar of similar style found elsewhere was perfect. The style differs from that found before, red bars being added across the brown ground. The group in the pit has a relative date, given by a sherd of the fine Anatolian style of bowl, and another of the earliest Cypriote imitation. This junction of styles dates from the XIIth dynasty.

The flow of weights was far more than in previous years—over two hundred, mostly of hâematite. The greater part were found in the south-west corner of the city, where a long sloping way ascends to the top from the point nearest to the water. This was doubtless the port entrance (*Gaza* III, vi), and most of the trade went on in this quarter. It is surprising how small the weights are, mostly under an ounce; a few larger weights of a pound or two were found and none above that. What could have been the material traded in such small quantities? Hardly precious metals or drugs as the staple commodities, certainly not food in these small amounts. The Syrian standard of 164 grains, and the Persian of 182 grains, were equally common at Gaza, and together they equal the frequency of the Egyptian, even at the frontier of Egypt. So the Persian trade would seem to have had half the activity of the Egyptian. Another large, bronze dagger was found, of Luristan type, dated to the XIIth dynasty like the example last year.

A large and regular rectangular building was unearthed, with a course of stonework through the walls. In fig. 6 a long wall turns to the right to other chambers; at the furthest right is a stout brick wall which backed the whole

structure. In fig. 7 a doorway hollow is in the foreground, with higher courses of stone on each side. The doorway led out to a great well in a circular pit, seen in the background. This well had been made in the fashion of that in the cemetery (*Gaza I*, lv, 256), where a large pit was dug, the stone-lined well was built in the middle of it, and the earth thrown back round the lining. This is a tedious but safe way of building a stone-lined well without underpinning. We could not clear the full depth, as the masonry had given way below, and it would be sixty feet down to water.

From all these kinds of objects we gain year by year a firmer view of the great activity of intercourse all over the civilised world before 2000 B.C., and perceive how from that the world fell into barbarism that was not cleared away till the early classical age.

FLINDERS PETRIE.

QUEEN TETY-SHERY.

(*Frontispiece.*)

OF the two statuettes of Queen Tety-shery, one is now in the British Museum, the other in the Louvre. They were dedicated by an official named Sen-senb, who may perhaps have belonged to the queen's own household. The statuette is of fine white limestone and stands 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches high. The queen is seated on a backless throne, her hands on her knees, and the figure leaning slightly forwards in a natural attitude. The whole statuette has been painted and much of the colour still remains; the base, throne, and dress are white; the eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows and hair are black; the vulture-headdress is blue with red in the spaces between the tips of the pinion-feathers. The circular socket on the brow was for the insertion of a vulture-head; the wings of the bird hold the braids of hair in position on each side of the face; the body of the bird spreads over the top, and the wide tail falls over the back of the head; on each side the vulture holds a *shen*-sign in its claws. It is noticeable that the only ornament worn by the queen is the headdress; neither necklace nor bracelets are indicated. Though Tety-shery lived to a great age, she is here represented as a young girl, and the artist has delighted in the delicate modelling of the youthful contours. The artistic workmanship and beauty of the whole of the upper part of the figure are in marked contrast with the coarse rendering of the ankles and feet; the hands also are flat and conventional; but in spite of faults, the statuette is one of the most beautiful portraits of women to be found in the whole range of Egyptian art. Tety-shery was the mother of King Seqenen-Ra and of his queen, Aah-hotep, and lived during the troubled but triumphant times of the expulsion of the Hyksos invaders from Egypt, *i.e.*, from the end of the XVIIth dynasty to the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty.

M. A. MURRAY.

[NOTE.—A side-view of the head and the inscriptions on the sides and back of the head will be published in the next issue.]

GLASS BEFORE 1500 B.C.

In this paper I am referring to every piece of glass that I know of, that dates to before 1500 B.C. or that has been stated to date to that period, and particulars are given of those that I have personally examined.

Before going into detail it is necessary to define what glass is, and to point out the differences between glaze, glass, faience and frit. Glaze and glass are frequently identical materials chemically, but have been worked in different ways. They are isotropic, and therefore do not change the colour of the light when viewed in a polariscope. Glass articles are generally made completely of glass, whilst glazed articles usually consist of a layer of glaze applied to a core or base of other material.

Glass, glaze, and faience are all made of similar materials. Their chief constituent is silica; they all contain lime. Glass and glaze also contain soda, whilst small quantities of soda are usually present in faience. In ordinary glass, 6 to 10% of lime, 15 to 20% of soda and the balance silica is a common formula. In faience, however, the proportions are very different; the silica varies from 94 to 99%, the lime is generally about 2%, whilst the soda when present is often from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1%.

Glass is made by heating the ingredients in a crucible until they are liquid and the materials dissolved, when it is either poured out as a liquid into a mould, or pulled out as threads when in a plastic condition, or else allowed to cool and then is broken from the pot.

Faience, on the other hand, is moulded to shape as a powder lightly held together with some liquid, such as milk of lime, and then heated until the lime or soda has sufficiently dissolved to hold it together properly.

In some cases glaze seems to have been mixed with the material before firing; in other cases it appears to have been added afterwards.

Glaze, which is so closely allied to glass, has been made extensively from the Badarian period in Egypt, the Jemdet Nasr period in Mesopotamia, and from an early date in the Aegean. It is probable that it was invented accidentally by heating an alkali or lime on a quartz pebble, and finding that the result put a polished surface on the stone; many of the glazed quartz beads of Mesopotamia were made in this way. The idea of grinding up quartz and mixing it with an alkali so as to form a faience was probably later, as faience has not been found in the Badarian civilization. It is found, however, in the early Predynastic period at least as early as 4000 B.C., and it is strange that the further development of casting or carving lumps of glaze into special articles was not invented for some thousands of years. As a matter of fact, the evidence is quite conclusive that glass was occasionally made before 1500 B.C., but specimens are very rare.

In the list which I give later there are 28 reputed examples; but of these, some are not glass, others are of more recent date, and others are doubtful.

Faience is very similar to the quartz bricks used for high temperature furnaces. It has been suggested that it should be called "glazed siliceous ware," but the name "faience" has been applied to it for so long that it would be difficult to alter it now.

Frit is a chemical compound, a double silicate of lime and copper. Its nature and methods of manufacture have been described by Laurie.

Since then Miss Hodgson (Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne) has shown that by powdering the material after it is made and then mixing it with a little water, it can be moulded into beads which retain their shape. When these are fired in a furnace the grains are softened sufficiently for them to stick together and form a hard frit bead. Frit is crystalline and pleochroic, and is quite definitely different from glass.

If a batch of glass has not been sufficiently fired to melt all the quartz completely, you can get a material which has been worked as glass, but when examined under the microscope shows a number of quartz grains floating about in an isotropic base. This is, I consider, a real glass and it is quite easy in most cases to tell it from faience.

Care is also necessary when a faience article has a very thick glaze on the outside. Such cases it is sometimes impossible to tell from glass, unless there is a chip which goes right through the glaze.

There are several natural materials which are sometimes mistaken for glass. Three of the most frequent are the clear crystals of quartz, calcite and fluorite. The first, quartz, can be readily distinguished by its greater hardness ($H=7$) and by its being doubly refractive. The second, calcite, is very much softer than glass, its hardness being 3, whilst that of glass is about 6. It is also markedly doubly refractive. This frequently makes it show a double image, and is immediately seen in a polariscope. The third, fluorite, is also softer than glass ($H=4$). This material is isotropic so that polarized light is not a method of distinguishing it from glass, but it nearly always has some slight flaw or chip which shows the direction of the cleavage planes. It always has a specific gravity of approximately 3.15. This is higher than most early glass, which unless it contains lead generally has a sp.g. of about 2.4–2.6.

Beads of all these materials have been sent to me as being glass.

Another material of which a great number of early beads are made, and which is sometimes mistaken for artificial glass, is obsidian. This is a natural glass; it can almost always be distinguished from artificial glass, if a chip can be examined under the microscope. The natural material has layers of different density. Also, almost all the obsidian found in Europe and Asia is a dark colour which looks black when it has a thickness of about a quarter of an inch. The hardness is $6\frac{1}{2}$ and the sp.g. 2.32–2.38.

The date of the origin of glass is not known; nor is its country of origin. The popular story of its invention by the Phoenicians in about the sixth century B.C. has been proved to be wrong so far as date is concerned. The date 1500 B.C. seems to have been a landmark in the history of glass, possibly due to its introduction into Egypt, for after this date great numbers of articles were made in glass in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, and in the Aegean. Specimens before this date are very rare, with the possible exception of specimens from Mesopotamia where glass may have been used in considerable quantities about a couple of centuries earlier.

This matter also bears on the question of its country of origin.

The specimens in the following list are all said to date to before 1500 B.C. They are approximately in the order of their reputed dates.

No. 1.

Description: Hathor Head.

Found by Sir W. Flinders Petrie at

Made of: Blue-violet glass (?).

Naqada, Egypt (Grave 1759).

Date claimed: Predynastic 4000-3500 B.C. Now in University College, London.

Reference: Sir W. F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*.

Petrie says: "The glass is an opaque violet blue, in imitation of the finest lazuli. The impress is imperfect, the bars across the top having been pressed across the face. Ancient conchoidal chipping proves the material to be glass. The grave, No. 1759, is well dated by 8 types of pottery . . . so it would be impossible to bring it much later than 41 S.D. The glass pendant was found in a small alabaster vase, placed with the horn cup between the forearm and the upper arm so there is no chance of its having been dropped by plunderers from elsewhere. It does not seem possible therefore to question (1) the making of violet frit, the most difficult kind, and (2) the production of moulded glass, at the beginning of the second civilization. Probably imported."

It is some years since I saw this specimen, and then I thought it looked very like faience. So far as I know, this specimen has never been tested chemically or microscopically to prove that it is glass. Under these circumstances, I include it amongst the doubtful specimens.

No. 2. (Fig. 1).

Description: Bead.

Found by Sir W. Flinders Petrie at

Material: Glass.

Naqada, Egypt.

Date claimed: Predynastic 4000-3500 B.C. Now in Berlin Museum.

Reference: B. Neuman and Kotiga, *Zeit. Angewandte Chemie.*, September, 1925.

Photograph kindly supplied by the Egyptian Department of the Berlin Museum. Magnified three diameters; the actual diameter is 9 mm. and the length 5.5 mm.



FIG. 1.—PREDYNASTIC BEAD: NAQADA. (1)

Neuman and Kotiga state in *Zeitschrift für Angewandte Chemie*, 3/9/25, that Rathgen has tested a chip of this bead and that it is an undoubted glass. The colour is pale green. From a photograph of the beads associated with it I doubt its being as early as Predynastic. One of the other beads is evidently VIth dynasty or First Intermediate. This is not surprising as there were a number of graves of the VIth dynasty at Naqada. I think that this bead is also VIth dynasty and that it belongs to the same group as nos. 10 to 16. There seems no doubt, however, that this specimen is glass, and that it dates from at least as early as 2500 B.C.

No. 3.

Description: Beads.

Found by MacIver and Mace at

Material: Glass.

Abydos, Egypt.

Date claimed: Predynastic 4000-3500 B.C. Now in (?)

Reference: D. R. MacIver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 1902.

MacIver says: "Q44. Body of a young person, lying as usual in a contracted position, with the head at south. Necklace of green, blue and yellow glass beads. Pot B 18b. This was a shallow round grave of typical early prehistoric kind. There was no suspicion of a mixture with a later period, nor were there any graves of other sorts in the immediate vicinity."

I do not know where these beads are now. From this report there seems little doubt that they are made of glass, but I hesitate to date them as Predynastic until further evidence can be brought forward to prove it. They are the only evidence that I can find of glass in Egypt before the VIth dynasty. If these really are so early, it is very surprising that there should be a "necklace" of beads of three kinds of glass, green, blue, and yellow, whilst in all the other cases before the XIth dynasty, where early Egyptian glass beads have been reported, only single specimens have been found in each grave.

No. 4.

Description: Pieces of inlay.

Found by Amélineau at Abydos,

Material: Glass (?).

Egypt.

Date claimed: 1st Dynasty 3500-3000 B.C. Now in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The Keeper of the Ashmolean, Dr. Leeds, and Mr. Harden have very carefully examined these specimens and are quite certain that they are faience and not glass. Under these circumstances it is not necessary to discuss the date.

No. 5.

Description: Bracelet.

Found by Sir W. Flinders Petrie at

Material: Glass (?).

Abydos.

Date claimed: 1st Dynasty 3500-3250 B.C. Now in Cairo Museum.

Reference: E. Vernier, *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*, 1908.

This bracelet was found on the arm of the Queen of King Zer. Vernier describes it as glass, but most of the people who have actually handled it are quite convinced that it is turquoise. Messrs. Lucas and Brunton have recently examined it again and confirm this diagnosis, so I am leaving it out from further consideration as probably not being glass.

No. 6.

Description: Eye Beads.

Found by Andrae at Fara.

Material: Coloured glass (?).

Now in Berlin Museum.

Date claimed: Before 3000 B.C.

Reference: Koldewey in his book on excavations in Babylon stated that multiple coloured glass beads had been discovered at Fara, and that they must date back to before 3000 B.C. Dr. Andrae now informs me that there are not any early glass beads from Fara, all the specimens being rock crystal.

No. 7. (Figs. 2 and 3).

Description: Cylinder.

Found by the Iraq Expedition of the

Made of: Pale green glass.

Oriental Institute of the Univer-

Date claimed: Akkadian 2700-2500 B.C.

sity of Chicago at Tell Asmar.

Now in the University of Chicago.

Reference: Third Preliminary Report, Oriental Institute Communications, No. 17. Chicago, 1934.

This specimen is a cylinder or rod of glass of pale blue-green colour. It was broken at both ends at an early date, and has recently been broken along one side. With the exception of the small bead in the Berlin Museum (No. 2), this is the earliest piece of clear glass known. The diameter is about .45 in. and the length 1.33 in. In the photograph of it (fig. 2), it is magnified 3 diameters. The



FIG. 2.—GLASS CYLINDER: TELL ASMAR.

FIG. 3. ($\times 500$)

weight is 6.332 grammes, the specific gravity 2.463, and the refractive index approximately 1.515.

The fact that this glass dates to about 2600 B.C. is very surprising. Clear blue glass of a very similar colour has been found in the Mediterranean area, but it shows a much heavier corrosion and is not older than 1000 to 800 B.C. Glass of a deeper blue, also very corroded, is found in Crete and dated to 1400 B.C.

This specimen was modelled or moulded into shape, and not cut out of a solid block. The glass is very pure, with a few small bubbles, but it is surprisingly free from striae or inclusions of quartz fragments or dirt. The colouring-matter is in the form of small spherical particles which have a slightly blue appearance when seen together in light reflected from above. These particles are in layers, the majority in the same layer being fairly uniform in size; but those in different layers vary greatly in size. The largest particles are about $1/5000$ of an inch, whilst some of the layers consist chiefly of particles of about $1/25000$ inch.

After carefully examining their appearance under different conditions, I think that there is no doubt that they are spherical and transparent and have a slightly different refractive index from the glass base.

Fig. 3 shows a portion of a small chip magnified 500 diam.; the majority of the particles shown as white discs in this figure have a diam. of about $1/25000$ in.

Dr. Frankfort, the director of the excavations, has just written to me about the date of this specimen. He says: "There cannot be the slightest doubt about the date of our glass cylinder now. It was found in rubbish of Akkadian date (Sargon of Akkad between 2600 and 2500 B.C.), and it was at a lower level than the very foundations of walls which were built during the third dynasty of Ur on the top of that rubbish and covered over in their turn by houses of the Larsa period. There was no disturbance as a result of drains in this part either."

No. 8. (Figs. 4 and 5).

Description: Block of glass

Found by H. R. Hall at Abu Shahrein,

Material: Blue glass.

Iraq.

Date claimed: 2700–2600 B.C.

Now in British Museum (No. 115474).

This block of glass is very full of bubbles, but is otherwise a pure glass. The

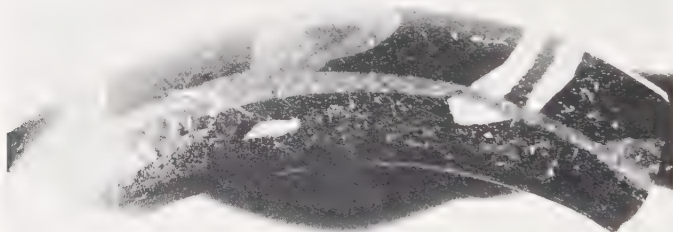


FIG. 4.—BLUE GLASS : ABU SHAHREIN.

FIG. 5. ($\times 100$)

colouring matter is held in particles which vary greatly in size. Fig. 5 shows some chips magnified 100 diameters, whilst fig. 4 is a photograph of the complete block, natural size.

This specimen may have been meant to be carved or to be remelted and moulded to the desired shape ; or even, it may have been intended to grind it up and use it as a glaze. In any case it was probably a manufacturer's piece of material, and the probability is that it was made in the immediate neighbourhood of where it was found. This is the earliest suggestion of a glass factory that is known.

FIG. 6.—BRACELET : BAMPUR. ($\times 2$)

No. 9. (Fig. 6).

Description : Bracelets.

Material : Glass.

Date claimed : Before 3000 B.C.

Found by Sir Aurel Stein at Bampur,
Persian Baluchistān.

Now in British Museum.

These fragments of bracelets were found by Sir Aurel Stein at the bottom of a trench where they were associated with early painted pottery. They show a very advanced technique and are made of eight different kinds of glass. They are exactly similar to fragments found lying on the surface of the mound ; and almost identical bracelets are being made in India at the present day.

Glass bracelets have been found in Europe which date to as early as 500 B.C., but they are not quite similar.

I think that the probability is that these fragments had for some reason



a. b. c.
FIG. 7.—BEADS: QAU. ($\times 3$)



FIG. 8. ($\times 100$)

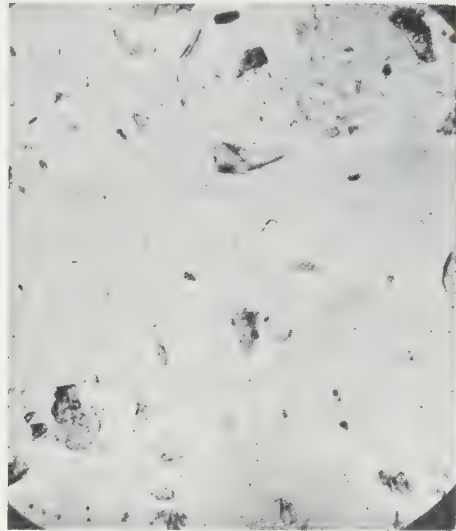


FIG. 9. ($\times 100$)

been buried at a great depth, or else that they worked down whilst the excavations were being carried out.

Sir Aurel Stein, however, does not doubt their great age. I hope that further discoveries will settle this question as to date, as, if these bracelets prove to belong to this early period, they will be very important and will throw fresh light on the problem of the origin of glass. But until there is further proof, I am not prepared to accept for them any date which would bring them within the range of this paper, namely, prior to 1500 B.C.

No. 10. (Figs. 7a, 8).

Description: Bead.

Material: Turquoise glass.

Date claimed: VIIth to VIIIth Dynasty, Now in Beck Collection.

2600–2500 B.C.

Reference: G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari II*.

Microscopic examination of a chip of this glass shows that it is a turquoise blue variety, but it is rather impure.

The colouring matter is in very minute spots, very closely packed together. In a fracture through the bead it can be seen that the centre is blue, but that for some distance from the surface it has corroded to a yellow colour. In this it resembles some of the faience beads from Harappa (Indus Civilisation).

A general view of the bead magnified three diameters is shown in fig. 7a, whilst in fig. 8 some chips are magnified 100 diameters.

In this list, nos. 10 to 16, inclusive, are all small beads found by Brunton at Qau in graves of the First Intermediate period. I have only examined nos. 10 and 16: these are both glass and there is no reason to doubt their date. The only one that has been questioned is no. 14; as this is a red glass, Brunton thinks that it may be an intrusion. With this possible exception, I think that these beads can all be accepted as glass of the period.

It is an interesting fact that in no grave was more than one glass bead found, which suggests that they were valuable and only procurable in small numbers.

No. 11.

Description: Annular bead.

Found by Brunton at Qau (612), Egypt.

Material: Green glass.

Date claimed: VIth Dynasty, 2600- Now at Manchester.

2500 B.C.

There is no reason to doubt either the material or date of this specimen.

No. 12.

Description: Bead.

Found by Brunton at Qau (589),

Material: Green glass.

Egypt.

Date claimed: VIIth to VIIIth Dynasty. Now at Manchester.

There seems no reason to doubt either the material or date of this specimen

No. 13.

Description: Bead.

Found by Brunton at Qau, (4997),

Material: Glass.

Egypt.

Date claimed: VIIth to VIIIth Dynasty. Now in University College, London.

There is no reason to doubt either the material or date of this specimen.

No. 14.

Description: Bead.

Found by Brunton at Qau (1521),

Material: Red glass.

Egypt.

Date claimed: IXth to Xth Dynasty. Now at Manchester.

Reference: Brunton, *Qau and Badari II*.

Brunton thinks that this bead is an intrusion as it is made of a transparent red glass. We have no certain knowledge of such glass until a much later period but I think it possible that this specimen may prove to be of the date claimed

There is no doubt that this bead is glass, but as the date is not certain, I class it provisionally amongst the doubtful specimens.

No. 15.

Description: Annular bead.

Found by Brunton at Qau, (1602),

Material: Bluish glass.

Egypt.

Date claimed: IXth to Xth Dynasty. Now in University College, London.

There is no reason to doubt either the material or date of this specimen.

No. 16. (Figs. 7b, 9).

Description: Bead.

Found by Brunton at Qau.

Material: Green glass.

Date claimed: IXth to Xth Dynasty. Now in Beck Collection.

Reference: Brunton, *Qau and Badari II*.

Fig. 7b shows this specimen magnified three diameters, and fig. 9 a chip magnified 100 diameters. The latter shows some large particles which are mostly impurities; the very minute spots which contain the colouring matter do not appear as they are so small that they can scarcely be resolved with an oil immersion lens with an aperture of 1.2 N.A.

This specimen is undoubtedly glass, and there seems no reason to doubt its date.

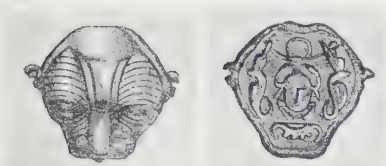
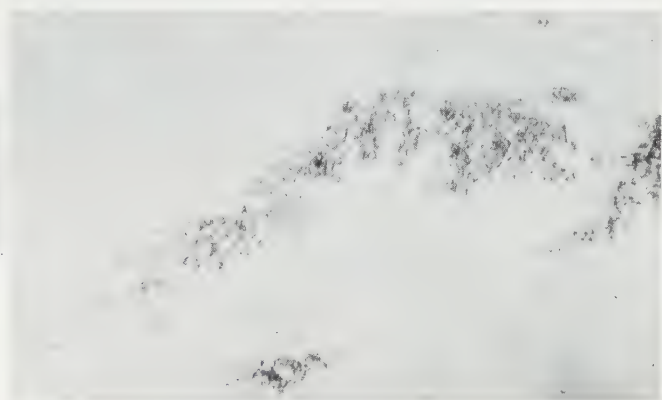
No. 17. (Figs. 10, 11).

Description : Lion's head.

Found by Drovetti at Thebes, Egypt.

Material : Blue glass.

Date claimed : XI Dynasty, 2400 B.C. Now in British Museum (No. 59619).

Reference : Nesbitt, *Glass : South Kensington Museum Art Handbook*.FIG. 10.—LION'S HEAD :
THEBES. (1)FIG. 11. ($\times 400$)

On this specimen is inscribed the name of Intef Nubkheperre.

This very important piece has a relatively modern chip on it, which enables the structure of the interior to be examined. I consider it is quite definitely a glass in which all the ingredients have not entirely melted, so that it has a large number of very small pieces of quartz in it. Very few of these pieces are more than .0007 in maximum dimension, and most of them are a great deal smaller.

As I was a little doubtful whether this effect was caused by insufficient firing, I mixed some ingredients in a small crucible and after they had been melted for quite a short time I allowed it to cool. On examining a chip from this under the microscope, I found exactly the same structure as no. 17, showing many small pieces of quartz.

I see no reason to doubt the date of this specimen. It is work of a very high class in the style of the early Middle Kingdom.

The illustration (fig. 10) is taken from Nesbitt's woodcuts, published in 1878. It is approximately the natural size.

In fig. 11 is shown a minute chip magnified 400 diameters. Some of the dark spots are colouring matter, but most of them are impurities. A considerable amount of the colouring material appears to be in ultra-microscopic particles.

No. 18.

Description : Beads.

Found by Winlock at Deir el Bahri.

Material : Glass.

Date claimed : XIth Dynasty, 2400–2200 B.C.

Now in Museum of Art, New York.

Reference : *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of New York*, 1921, Part 2.

I have not seen these specimens personally, but from the report of them there seems to be no reason to doubt that they are glass and of the date claimed.

No. 19. (Fig. 12.)

Description : Mosaic of a bull.

Found by A. de Morgan at Dahshur, Egypt.

Material : Glass (?).

Date claimed : XIIth Dynasty.

Now in Cairo Museum.

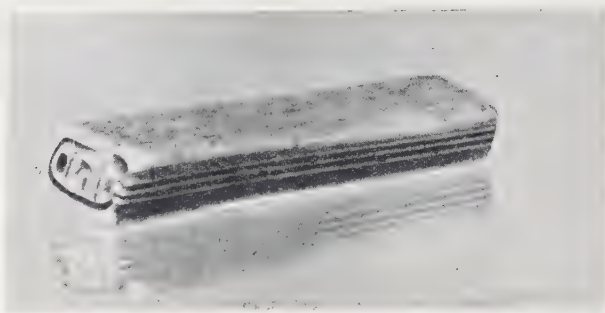
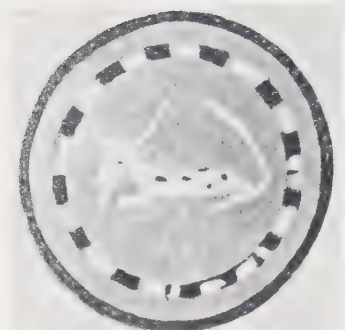


FIG. 12.—MOSAIC: DAHSHUR. ($\times 2$) FIG. 13.—ROD WITH CARTOUCHE. ($\times 1\frac{1}{2}$)

Reference: de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahshur*, vol. II, pl. 12, no. 62; p. 67

This specimen has caused more controversy than any other piece of reputed early glass. Dr. Lucas and Mr. Brunton are both convinced that it is not glass, but a stone mosaic. Professor Newberry, on the other hand, thinks that it is glass. He also considers that the question of its material cannot be finally settled until the piece of quartz which covers it is removed. The authorities, however, will not allow this to be done.

Fig. 12 is taken from a water-colour sketch made for Professor Newberry by Mr. Harold Jones. It is twice the size of the original.

With the exception of no. 21, no piece of mosaic glass of at all a similar nature has been reported until at least 1500 years later.

I have not seen this specimen myself, but as there are such very divergent opinions concerning it, I class it as doubtful.

No. 20.

Description: Fragment of yellow glass. Found by de Morgan at Dahshur, tomb of Khunumuit.

Material: Glass.

Date claimed: XIIth Dynasty, 2100 B.C. Now in Cairo Museum.

Reference: Parodi, (?).

Dr. Lucas says that this has been analysed by Parodi and is glass, but he does not think it came from the tomb referred to as all the other articles from the tomb are in the Cairo Museum and they do not at all resemble the piece analysed by H. D. Parodi. *La Verrerie en Égypte*, Cairo, 1908.

Under these circumstances I include this amongst the doubtful specimens.

No. 21. (Fig. 13.)

Description: Glass rod with cartouche of Amenemhat III. Now in Berlin Museum.

Material: Glass.

Date claimed: 2050 to 2000 B.C.

References: P. J. Newberry, *Glass Chalice of Thotmes III*, J.E.A., Vol. VI, p. 159, 1920. A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*.

There seems no doubt that this important piece of glass is of the date stated.

This is the only piece of glass mosaic, with the possible exception of the Dahshur bull (no. 19), that can be attributed to this early period. It is an astonishing find, as, except for these pieces, the method does not seem to have been employed until 1500 years later.

No. 22. (Fig. 7c.)

Description: Bead.

Found by de Morgan at Dahshur, Egypt.

Material: Turquoise glass.

Date claimed: XIIth Dynasty, 2100 B.C. Now in Beck Collection B/951.

This looks like a turquoise, but a scratch from it when examined under a microscope with polarized light is quite isotropic, showing that it is a true glass. This bead is shown three times natural size in fig. 7c.

No. 23.

Description : Fragments of a bead. Found by Woolley at Ur.
Material : Glass. Now in Beck collection B/1347 ;
Date claimed : Larsa period, c. 2100 B.C. micro, slide 859.

This specimen is undoubtedly of glass, but it is very corroded. Originally it was a transparent blue glass. The specimen has a large nodule of metal, apparently copper, sticking out on the fractured surface. From this nodule runs a line of deep blue glass.

A microscope slide shows conchoidal fractures almost like cleavage planes.

The date of this bead fragment is not certain, but it was associated with beads which are identical with those of the Larsa Period ; unfortunately, however, Mesopotamian beads often continued to be made the same shape for many centuries. It would not be very surprising if this bead does date from the Larsa Period, as the material is very similar to that of the glass cylinder (no. 7).

These fragments were found at the south end of DD.

Although I think that this bead is probably of the Larsa Period, I do not think that the proof is certain, and I class it as a doubtful specimen.

No. 24.

Description : Bead. Found by (?) at Dolmen à Graille,
Material : Purple glass. Gard, France.
Date claimed : Early Copper Age, Now in Toulouse Museum.
c. 2000 B.C.

This specimen looked like a piece of metal when seen through the glass of the showcase, but when handled proved to be a piece of purple glass.

I see no reason to doubt either the material or age of this specimen.

No. 25.

Description : Glass disc. Found by (?) at (?) .
Material : Green glass.
Date claimed : XIIIth Dynasty, 2000-1950 B.C. Now in British Museum (?).

This specimen was shown to me some years ago by Dr. Hall. It was in very good condition. I think that he said that he had just acquired it for the museum, but I am not certain. There seemed no absolute proof of its date, but it had a name moulded on it which Dr. Hall thought pointed to its belonging to the XIIIth dynasty.

The Egyptian Department at the British Museum is unfortunately in a rather chaotic condition as the floors are being rebuilt. Most of the collection is packed away, but the Keeper of the Department has promised to look for it when the collections are being rearranged.

No. 26.

Description : Beads. Found by (?) at Assur under the
Material : Glass. Ziggurat.
Date claimed : 1800 B.C. Now in Berlin Museum.

Reference : *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 54, S 47/48.

No. 27.

Description : Beads. Found by S. Smith and Woolley
Material : Red glass. at Ur.
Date claimed : Before 1600 B.C. Now in British Museum (No. 116582).

These are a series of red beads of which the first were discovered in 1925. They were in a layer which dated to before 1600 B.C. There are two varieties, one a very brilliant red and the other a darker red. Every year a few of the brilliant red specimens are found, but not associated with any tomb or dateable layer.

These brilliant red beads show no signs of corrosion and are probably quite modern and came from the local bazaar. The dark red beads show slight signs of wear, but I expect these also are modern.

The excavators when on the spot endeavoured to find some explanation as to how the beads got there. They did not see any means by which modern beads could have been put there, and they did not consider that it was worth anyone's while to have taken great trouble to insert them. On the other hand, some of the bright red beads are identical with some of the beads on showcards from Czecho-Slovakia.

There are a few larger red beads found on the site which are not dated, but which I think are of the Roman Period. These have some resemblance to the darker red beads referred to.

Until further and quite definite proof is forthcoming that any of these beads are early, I shall consider them all as quite modern.

No. 28.

Description: Fragments of beads. Found by Woolley at Ur.

Material: Glass.

Date claimed: Before 1600 B.C. Now in Beck Collection.

These fragments are almost reduced to dust. They were found with a series of faience beads definitely stated by Woolley to date before 1600 B.C. The dust consists largely of broken down glass which has almost entirely corroded away. It is, however, definitely glass of at least two sorts, one practically colourless, the other the yellow glass so common in Egypt during the XVIIIth dynasty.

If glass of this sort was being used extensively in Mesopotamia before 1600 B.C., it might explain the sudden appearance of glass in Egypt during the XVIIIth dynasty.

Also associated with the beads of this period and even earlier periods are the little carnelian seed-vessel amulets, which are unknown in Egypt before the XVIIIth dynasty, but became one of the favourite amulets during that period.

Amongst the dated glass beads of the Neo-Babylonian period (about 700 B.C.) are a number of yellow glass beads of the same type and material. These are in a very good state of preservation. From undated sites come a number of similar beads which are so completely corroded that they have lost their colour and both yellow and black glass have become an opalescent grey. Are these of the period before 1600 B.C.? There is no evidence to prove this at present.

I think that the evidence that these bead fragments date before 1500 B.C. is sufficient to allow me to include them as coming within the scope of this paper.

By examining these particulars, and neglecting nos. 4, 5, and 6 as not being glass, nos. 9, 20, and 27 as being of more recent date, and nos. 1, 14, 19, 23, and 25 as doubtful, we find that 17 specimens remain, of which very little doubt is possible. Of these, 13 are beads and 4 larger objects. If we examine the beads first we find that 10 are Egyptian, 2 are Mesopotamian, and 1 is French. Of the Egyptian specimens recorded all are single beads with the exception of nos. 3 and 18; whilst the two examples from Mesopotamia refer to considerable numbers.

Of the four larger specimens 2 come from Egypt and 2 from Mesopotamia. The two earliest are from Mesopotamia; they are of importance when considering from which country glass originally came.

The most important piece of evidence is the block of glass from Abu Shahrein (no. 8). This is evidently a manufacturer's piece of material which was going to have more work put into it, either by carving or reheating, or else it was going to be discarded as unsatisfactory. In either case it was probably at or near the factory where it had been made or was going to be completed. This very strongly suggests that a factory existed in Mesopotamia 1000 years earlier than there is any sign of one in Egypt.

The glass cylinder (no. 7) from Tel Asmar is, with the exception of the small bead no. 2, the only specimen of clear glass reported as being made before 1500 B.C.

Both these pieces (nos. 7 and 8) point very strongly to Mesopotamia as the country where glass originated.

The two Egyptian specimens of early glass, although they cannot claim to be the earliest, can certainly claim to be the most beautiful. The small lion head now in the British Museum (no. 17) is a masterpiece of carving in a very difficult material, whilst the rod with the cartouche (no. 21) is an astonishing piece of moulding to have been done at such an early date.

The fact that there are comparatively few instances of early beads being reported from Mesopotamia might be considered as evidence against a Mesopotamian origin, but one would expect to find fewer beads from Mesopotamia for two reasons. Firstly, the soil is so corrosive that it is surprising that any specimens should have lasted at all; and, secondly, there has been such a much larger amount of excavation carried out in Egypt than in Mesopotamia. Also the difference in the finds from the two countries is not great; eight of the Egyptian specimens reported were individual beads.

Another sign that glass may have originated in Mesopotamia is the fact that the typical yellow glass of the XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt seems to occur in Mesopotamia at an earlier date.

Professor Newberry has kindly informed me that as early as 2300-2200 B.C., it is definitely stated, glass was called *thnt*, and was imported from Thnnw land, *i.e.*, the country to the west of Egypt.

Whilst this evidence is far from conclusive, I think it points to the probability of glass having originated in Mesopotamia and not in Egypt.

In this consideration of origin I have not taken notice of the glass bracelets discovered by Sir Aurel Stein (no. 9), as I doubt their date. If further exploration proves that he is right, and that these date back to the third millenium B.C. or even earlier, the question as to whether Persian Baluchistān was the country of origin will have to be considered.

From the foregoing it appears that the introduction of glass into both Egypt and Mesopotamia is at least as early as 2600-2500 B.C., but I do not think that the evidence of the necklace in no. 3 is sufficiently strong to take it back nearly 1000 years to the Predynastic period, until some further evidence is available.

Another fact which is of great interest but which may not have any real bearing on the matter is that the earliest documentary evidence which we have of the methods of manufacture of various kinds of glass comes from the Assyrians. It is a series of tablets written on the subject during the reign of Ashurbanipal. These tablets, which date to 668-626 B.C., are very possibly copies of earlier

ones. They are unfortunately broken in places, but Dr. Campbell Thompson has made a very interesting translation of them.¹ This was especially difficult, as there is a doubt how to translate the names of many of the chemicals employed. I will conclude this paper by quoting some of this early and important document.

The formulae given must have some governing factor which is not clear, as the proportions of colouring matter given are in some cases far too great to be practicable. For instance, one glass said to be purple is said to have 75% manganese, whereas 3% is the maximum possible. (Dr. Campbell Thompson suggests that manganese may be an incorrect translation.) But in spite of this they give us an insight into many of the materials used for colouring matter, and although one or two may be doubtful many of them are certain.

In almost all cases the silica is mixed with alkali and lime. The following chemicals are stated to have been used to make various coloured glasses. For black (?) glass ferric oxide and copper were used, and the same materials were also used for brown glass. Blue glass had copper, purple glass had manganese, and a red purple seems to have no colouring matter stated, but started with a blue frit. Green glass contained oxide of tin and saltpetre, yellow glass antimony and saltpetre; opaque carnelian and alabaster had oxide of tin; aventurine or spangled red glass ferric oxide (?), saltpetre, and arsenic; whilst a glass called coral contained tin, antimony, saltpetre, and gold. Dr. Thompson is not absolutely certain as to the translation of ferric oxide, oxide of tin, or saltpetre, but he gives very good reasons why he thinks they are correct.

The mention of gold for making a pale red glass is of great interest as it was a tradition amongst the alchemists that gold could be used for this purpose, although they were not successful in so using it until the seventeenth century.

The manufacture of glass was thought by the Assyrians to be very closely allied to magic and it was considered necessary to start the fires on a propitious day. There is little doubt that the meltings of glass sometimes turned out very badly. The makers thought that this was due to magic and was controlled by the Beings who overlooked the partly made objects and watched their development. Consequently, definite rules were laid down as to the proper method to start a glass furnace. These are given on the first tablet and translated by Dr. Campbell Thompson as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 57).

"When thou settest out the (ground) plan of a furnace for 'minerals,' thou shalt seek out a favourable day in a fortunate month, and thou shalt set out the (ground) plan of the furnace: while they are making the furnace thou shalt watch (them) and shalt work thyself (?). In the house of the furnace thou shalt bring in embryos (born before their time) . . . another (?), a stranger, shall not enter, nor shall one that is unclean tread before them: thou shalt offer the due libations before them: the day when [thou puttest down] the 'mineral' into the furnace thou shalt make a sacrifice before the embryos: thou shalt set a censer of pine-incense, thou shalt pour 'kurunnu' over before them.

"Thou shalt kindle a fire underneath the furnace and shalt put down the mineral into the furnace. The men whom thou shalt bring to be over the furnace shall cleanse themselves, and (then) thou let them come down to the furnace.

¹ R. Campbell Thompson, *The Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians*. Luzac and Co.

"The wood which thou shalt burn underneath the furnace shall be styrax, thick, decorticated billets which have not lain (exposed) in bundles, (but) have been kept in leather thongs, cut in the month of Ab. This wood shall go underneath thy furnace."

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the British Museum ; the Berlin State Museum, both the Egyptian and Near Asian departments ; Dr. Frankfort, director of the Iraq expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago ; Mr. Brunton ; Mr. Harden ; Dr. Leeds ; Mr. Lucas ; Prof. Newberry ; Dr. Campbell Thompson ; and to Mr. Woolley, for assistance in various ways

H. C. BECK.

AN EGYPTIAN LOAN-WORD AT RAS SHAMRA.

IN ANCIENT EGYPT, 1932, p. 105, I discussed a passage in the recently published Semitic epic from Ras Shamra, describing the defeat of Mot, god of summer drought, by the war-goddess Anat. The passage runs :—

"She removes his robe ;
She places the *hptr* upon a fire,
The *hprš* upon glowing coals."
(Second Tablet, Col. II, 4 ff.)

I suggested that the baffling *hprš* was the Egyptian *khepresh*—crown, ultimately deriving from Anatolia, but the word *hptr* remained a puzzle. A solution has now occurred to me. The signs read separately as *pt* when joined together form the letter *k*. The word will therefore be *hkr*, which could be yet another loan-word from the Egyptian, equating with *hkr*, "adornment, insignia," thus balancing *hprš*.

Considering that the administration of Ras Shamra (Ugarit) was long in Egyptian hands, it is natural that the words describing regal garb should be borrowed from the Egyptian.

THEODOR HERZL GASTER.


AN EGYPTIAN LOAN-WORD IN A TELL-AMARNA LETTER.

IN the Tell-Amarna letter, British Museum 29, 11-12², the following address is made by Abi-milki, governor of Tyre, to the Egyptian Pharaoh :—

ša it-ta-za-ab gab-bi mâta-ti
ina pa-ša-hi i-na du-ni imitti ha-ab-ši

"who delivereth all lands

by pacifying (them) by the strength of (his) right hand,—by (his) *habšu*." The word *ha-ab-ši* is marked by the slanting wedge indicating that it is a foreign word, of which *du-ni imitti* (by the strength of his right hand) is an explanation.

I suggest that it is the Egyptian *hps* , the sickle-sword which was *ⲕⲁⲧⲉⲛ* *ēxochēn*, the weapon of the Pharaoh. *Du-ni imitti* is a rough gloss, giving the general sense.

THEODOR HERZL GASTER.

² ed. Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy*, p. 31.

EGYPTIAN AND GREEK STATUETTES FROM NAUCRATIS.

AMONG the numerous dedications found in the excavations at Naucratis in 1885-1886 there were many statuettes, some purely Egyptian in style, others showing such a mixture of Greek and Egyptian types as we might expect to find in a Greek colony upon Egyptian soil. Not that such examples are found exclusively in Egypt. On many Greek sites where dedications of the sixth century B.C. or earlier have been found, this curious mixed style may be seen—for instance, in Cyprus and Rhodes. In this connection it is instructive to quote the story told by Polycharmis, himself a citizen of Naucratis, and quoted from him by the Naucratis writer, Athenaeus.¹ The story is quoted at length in *Naucratis II*, p. 55, but is so relevant that it seems worth repeating here as follows:—

“ In the twenty-third Olympiad Herostratus, a fellow citizen of ours, was on a journey ; and having sailed round many lands, he touched also at Paphos in Cyprus ; there he bought a statuette of Aphrodite, a span high, of archaic style, and went off with it to Naucratis. Now, when the ship was near Egypt, a storm suddenly came on, and they could not see whereabouts they were ; so all of them took refuge by the image of Aphrodite, praying her to save them. And the goddess, with her wonted favour to the people of Naucratis, suddenly



EGYPTIAN KING OF XXVIth DYNASTY.



GREEK STATUETTE FROM NAUCRATIS.

filled all the region about her with green myrtle, and made the ship full of the sweetest odour, when the crew had now given up hope in their severe sickness. They at once vomited freely, and the sun shone forth; so they made out their landmarks and reached Naucratis. Then Herostratus, rushing from the ship with the image, and also with the green myrtle boughs that had suddenly come forth, dedicated them in the temple of Aphrodite. And, having sacrificed to the goddess and dedicated the image to Aphrodite, he called his friends and relations to a banquet in the temple itself, and gave to each of them also a garland of myrtle, to which he gave thereupon the name Naucratiite."

This story is of peculiar interest to us because of its reference to an image, a span high, of archaic workmanship which was brought from Cyprus and dedicated in a Greek temple at Naucratis. The description would fit very well many of the figures, found in excavating these temples, which may be seen now in the British Museum or in the Edwards Library at University College. The two statuettes of which representations are here given side by side differ from the dedication of Herostratus in that they both are male figures; but it was quite common for male figures to be dedicated to goddesses and for female figures to be dedicated to gods, as an act of worship or thanksgiving. The date given by Polycharmis to Herostratus, the twenty-third Olympiad (or 680 B.C.), is indeed earlier than the traditional date of the foundation of the Greek colony at Naucratis; but small figures "of archaic style" may well have been bought and dedicated in the early days of Greek colonization.

The chief interest, however, of the two statuettes here represented lies in the comparison of their style and type. The one is purely Egyptian, and represents a king of the XXVIth dynasty. It is a glazed-ware figure, 8.5 cm. high, and shows the delicate and refined work characteristic of the period. It stands in a rigidly erect pose, the left leg advanced, and the space between the legs filled in so as to make the figure more stable; the arms are fixed close to the sides; on the head is a massive wig which is divided over the shoulders, and extends to the front of the chest. The drapery consists, as is often the case in Egyptian sculpture, of a kind of loin-cloth (*Shendyt*) suspended from a waist-belt; it is divided into two sides, with a triangular pendant occupying the space between them.

The two figures are reproduced at approximately the same size, in order to facilitate comparison.

The Greek statuette is carved out of soft limestone, and is 28 cm. high. The pose is precisely the same as that of the Egyptian figure, with the left leg advanced and the space between the two legs filled in—or rather left in the stone—for support. The arms are fixed close to the sides, and the whole figure faces rigidly to the front. The bodily forms are vague and rounded. The hair is treated in a solid mass that hangs to the shoulders, but is evidently meant for hair and not for a wig. But it is above all in the arrangement and shape of the drapery that the two figures resemble each other. In the Greek figure, as in the Egyptian, this consists of a loin-cloth hanging from a belt; the two sides are divided, and between them an approximately triangular flap hangs down. Now such a garment is unknown to Greek fashion or to Greek sculpture; but it is common enough in Egypt. The obvious inference is that the Greek artist was making an almost mechanical copy from an Egyptian original, whether actually made in Naucratis or brought there in the course of commerce.

That such products of Graeco-Egyptian art should be found at Naucratis is appropriate; for the Ionian Greeks who joined in the foundation of that

colony were also among the first to join in the great advance of Greek art. The Samian sculptors, Rhoecus and Theodorus, are said by Diodorus Siculus to have been trained in Egypt, and to have followed Egyptian conventions; their works resembled Egyptian models, having their arms close to their sides and their legs wide apart. Mrs. Mitchell, in her *History of Ancient Sculpture* (p. 199), notes that the island home of these Samian sculptors, "enriched by commerce, had its settlement in the Egyptian Naucratis." And since this was the only place in Egypt where Greeks were allowed to settle, it is most probable that Rhoecus and Theodorus lived there when they made their studies of Egyptian art. It is worth noting, perhaps as more than a coincidence, that the name of Rhoecus, POIXOΣ, occurs in the incised inscription of dedication upon an Ionic "eye-bowl" found (*Naucratis I*, p. 59) in the temple of Aphrodite. He may even have made this offering to the goddess during his sojourn in the colony. In any case he may well have made statuettes, influenced by Egyptian sculpture, such as the one here represented. The name Theodorus also occurs on a vase-fragment in *Naucratis I*, xxxiv; but this cannot be insisted on, as it is a comparatively common name.

E. A. GARDNER.

¹ xv. 676.

Local Currencies of East Syria under the Roman Empire.



LOCAL CURRENCIES OF EAST SYRIA UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

IN the collection of clay tesserae from Palmyra in the Ashmolean Museum there are several which resemble coins in their shape and general design ; and four are actual copies of bronze coins, of two types (nos. 1-4). The earlier of the originals used as models is an autonomous coin of Sidon, struck in the second quarter of the second century B.C., the types of which are a head of the city-goddess and a rudder : if the letter behind the head on the obverse is, as the traces suggest, meant for B, it corresponds to no. 87 in the British Museum Catalogue, *Phoenicia*, p. 155. Two of the other three tesserae are from the same moulds : the types of all three are those of no. 217, p. 179, in the same catalogue, a radiate bust of Trajan and Astarte seated on a bull, dated in year ZKΣ(=116/7 A.D.). The moulds appear to have been made by impressing a coin on an almost flat surface of plastic material, which was then hardened ; a lump of clay was placed between two moulds, squeezed flat, and baked.

It is difficult to see for what purpose these copies of coins were made, if it was not to serve the function of coins in trade ; and it would be natural enough, at Palmyra, for clay to be used for the manufacture of what might be called tokens, if the supply of metal coinage proved insufficient to meet the ordinary requirements of business in the local markets. Though, in the Greek and Roman world, the ordinary materials of coinage were gold, silver, and bronze, substitutes for these were not unknown ; base-metal copies of silver and bronze coins are found, some of which may be fraudulent, but others were probably issued to supplement the regular currency in emergencies : there is a record of leather having been used for this purpose, which there is no reason to question, although no specimens have been preserved. At Palmyra the most convenient material to replace metal would doubtless be clay, the employment of which for many purposes of business had been familiar in Mesopotamia from time immemorial ; when there was a shortage of bronze coinage in circulation, some of the pieces normally current, such as the Sidonian types mentioned, would be reproduced in clay, and these reproductions would be accepted as equivalent to the originals.

It is possible that not only the direct copies of official coins, but also others of the clay tesserae, were intended to be used in this way ; some (nos. 5, 6) are round disks, not unlike coins in shape, with devices moulded on both faces, which in their general appearance suggest coins, and might serve the purposes of exchange equally well as those which bore ordinary coin-types. It has been proposed to regard the commoner square or rectangular tesserae as monetary tokens, but this seems more doubtful ; to the Greek or Roman merchant a coin was a round object, and, though square coins are a regular feature of Indian currencies, it may be questioned whether Oriental influences would be strong enough at Palmyra to make tokens of this shape acceptable.

Apart from their material, however, these clay tesserae were decidedly more attractive objects than the metallic small change which was in use at Palmyra in the period when its trade was most active. Large numbers of bronze coins are obtained at Palmyra ; but nearly all of these are miserable little things, crudely designed and roughly struck (nos. 7-9). It might have been expected that a city of the importance to which Palmyra had attained in the second and third centuries A.D. would have produced coins for local business purposes comparable to those of other Hellenized trade-centres ; gold and silver might have been imported, but bronze does not as a rule travel far. There can



be no doubt that these bits of bronze are the products of the Palmyrene mint ; very few bear even an attempt at a legend, and the execution is so bad that it is often difficult to decipher the types ; but there are two varieties which are inscribed with the name of Palmyra, and several which have as one of their types a palm-tree, presumably the badge of the city. For these at any rate the attribution may be taken as practically certain ; and most of the rest are so obviously of the same class that they may well belong to the same place.¹

There is another group of coins which seems to belong to Syria, and may furnish a link between the Palmyrene issues and those of the more normal Greek style. These pieces are almost as small as the Palmyrene, but of rather better workmanship, and are definitely copies, on a reduced scale, of bronze coins of Antioch. Two specimens (nos. 10, 11) are of particular interest, as they come from the collection formed in Syria at the end of the seventeenth century by William Hallifax, chaplain of the Levant Company's factory at Aleppo, and one of the first Englishmen to visit Palmyra² ; it was bequeathed by him to Corpus Christi College, of which he had been a Fellow. The legends are blundered, but have some sort of reminiscence of their Antiochene prototypes : on the obverses is a laureate head, which should be the head of Apollo, but in no. 10 seems to have been assimilated to that of Antoninus Pius ; the reverses reproduce the lyre found on the "pseudo-autonomous" coins of Antioch. They may be compared with the two coins (nos. 13, 14) from the old Bodleian collection published by G. Macdonald (in *Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 134), which similarly have the Apollo and lyre types, but on the reverse a date which appears to be **ZNC** (=208/9 A.D.) ; there is no attempt at a legend on the obverse.³

These types are borrowed from the series issued in the name of the city of Antioch ; but there are also copies, reduced to about the same size, of the larger bronze coins struck at Antioch with the heads of emperors on the obverse and SC on the reverse (nos. 16-18). The heads are not always recognizable, and there are no legends ; one is published in the British Museum Catalogue (*Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, no. 290) as of Hadrian, and there are other apparent

attempts at a likeness of him ; one (no. 16) is definitely Trajan, and two or three may be meant for Marcus Aurelius.

It seems probable that these little bronze pieces formed a substantial part of the small change used in Eastern Syria during the second and third centuries, supplemented at Palmyra by the clay tesserae mentioned earlier in the account. The originals copied are almost all of the second century, and some of the better reproductions may have been practically contemporary ; the more degraded ones are presumably later. Their issue is not likely to have continued after the establishment of what was really an independent principality at Palmyra by Odenathus in the second half of the third century ; his son Vaballathus struck coins on the model of the Roman currency.⁴

Parallel developments may be found in other frontier provinces of the Roman Empire, particularly in Egypt. Here, after about A.D. 170, the issue of bronze from the Imperial mint at Alexandria dwindled rapidly, and in half a century virtually ceased ; the only later Alexandrian bronze coins belong to four special commemorative groups, which were medals rather than coins ; and for the greater part of the third century the only metallic small change used in Egypt consisted of leaden tokens, with types sometimes borrowed from the Imperial coinage, sometimes of more local connection. These leaden tokens are analogous to the Palmyrene clay tesserae. Later, in the fifth century, when the Alexandrian mint, which had been reformed by Diocletian, again decayed, the needs of the country for bronze currency were supplied by reduced copies of the Imperial types, very similar to those found in Syria in the third century ; they begin with fairly close imitations, but grow more and more barbarous.⁵

At the other end of the empire, in Britain, a practice of supplying deficiencies in currency with locally made copies of the official coins had started almost immediately after the Roman occupation of the island ; it was less in evidence in the second century than in the first, but became very common in the last part of the third ; under the Constantinian house it ceased, but revived again towards the end of the fourth century ; and from that time onwards practically the only currency of Britain consisted of degraded copies of Roman types, which steadily became smaller and cruder, till they were superseded by the coinage of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.⁶

J. G. MILNE.

NOTES.

1. See the introduction to the British Museum Catalogue, *Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria*, pp. lv-lviii.

2. The visit of Hallifax to Palmyra was in 1691 : an account was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1695 and republished in the *Journal of the Palestine Exploration Fund* for June, 1890. There is no mention of coins in this account, but the records at Corpus Christi College, and the general character of the collection, leave no room for doubt that Hallifax acquired nearly all his Greek coins during his residence at Aleppo. The C.C.C. coin cabinet is now deposited at the Ashmolean.

3. These two coins probably come from a large collection formed by Sir Charles Warren in Palestine and Syria, which he presented to the Bodleian.

4. See Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 2, p. 585.

5. See *Ashmolean Museum Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*, pp. xvi-xviii ; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1926, pp. 43-92, and 1930, pp. 300-315.

6. See *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1933, pp. 221-222.

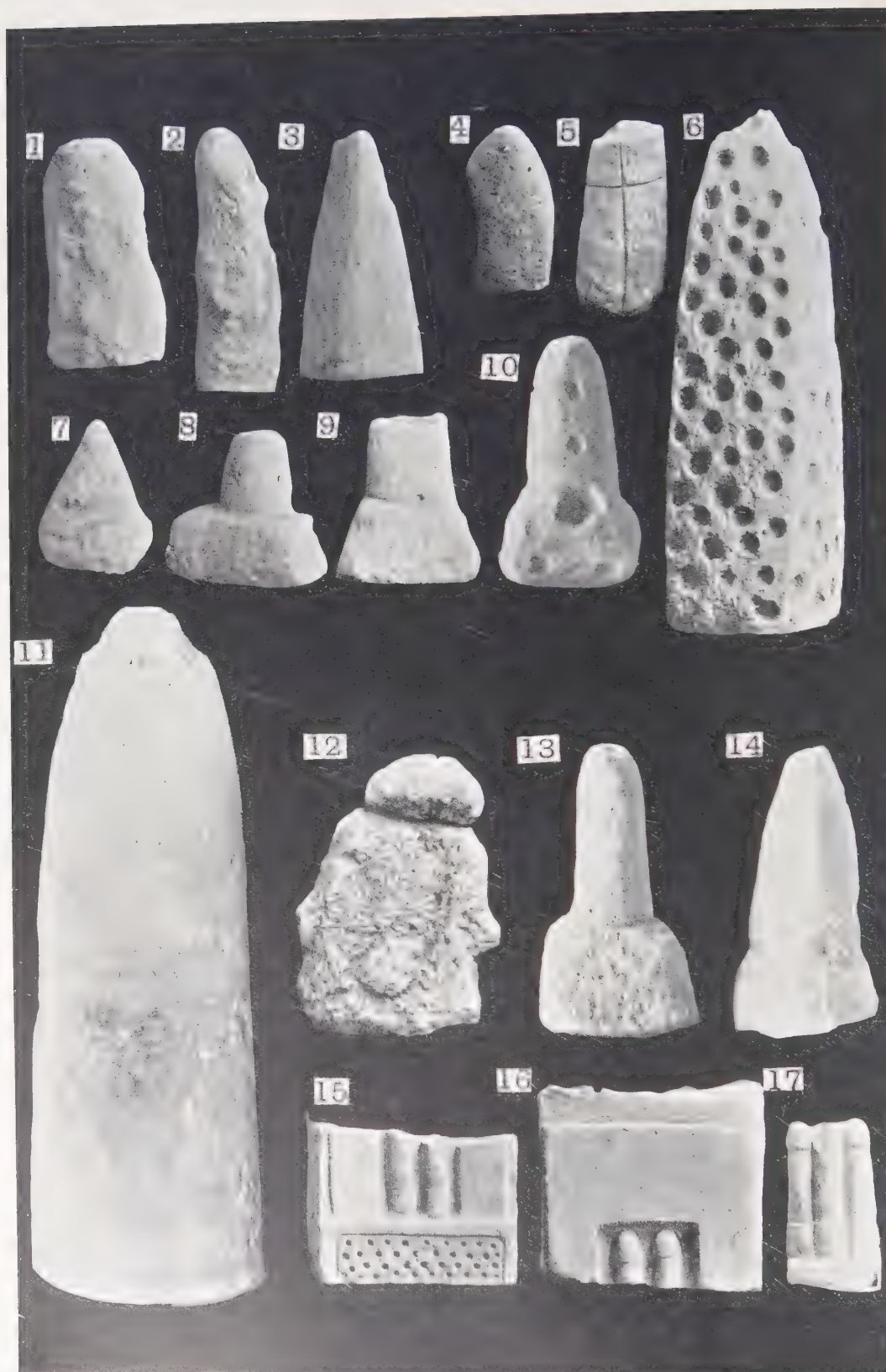


PLATE I.

SACRED STONES IN ANCIENT MALTA.

THE sacred stones of Malta form an interesting group of monuments. They vary in size from the great stone, standing 4 ft. 7 in. high, which was once in the Gigantea of Gozo (pl. I, 11) down to the little votive offerings of which the smallest (pls. I, 7 ; II, 22) is barely an inch and a half in height.

These stones differ from the sacred pillars of Malta in being more or less circular in section and in being pointed or rounded at one end. Some stand on their own base, others are carved as if set on a stand. They never occur in miniature form to be used as amulets for personal adornment or protection, like the "waisted" or hour-glass pillar. They are found only in temples, never in tombs, showing that this was a cult for the living. As far as can be ascertained the Maltese sacred stones belong to the Neolithic period or at latest to the early Bronze-age, except at Borg en-Nadur where the worship continued till Graeco-Phoenician times. The sanctity of the emblem is indicated by the representation of one or more enclosed in a shrine (pl. I, 15-17). In these representations the phallic form of the object is more clearly seen than in the free-standing examples.

Usually there is no decoration, but in three instances the pitted ornamentation of the Neolithic period has been used (pls. I, 6, 10 ; II, 5, 6), showing thereby the date, which is also fixed by the layer in which the objects were found at Tarxien. The characteristic chevron pattern of the Bronze-age is found twice (pl. II, 14, 20). The vertical and horizontal lines on the broken example from Borg en-Nadur (pls. I, 5 ; II, 10) are found also on the anthropomorphic figure (pls. I, 12 ; II, 26).

Though female figures are common in Malta, no female emblems have been found, or at any rate have not been identified. There are no large or small objects, and above all no amulets, which can be definitely recognized as representations of the female. The cowrie occurs, but the proof that this shell was regarded by the primitive Mediterranean people as the female emblem is yet to seek. It is, however, possible that the phallic stone on a stand (pls. I, 8-10, 13, 14 ; II, 12-26) may represent the combination of the male and female, like the "Linga-Yoni" of India. This is merely a suggestion, for the Indian emblem appears foreign to the religion of Europe, where the worship of the phallus alone was deeply rooted.

The phallic emblem appears to have developed into a human form, at first very rudely executed but becoming more recognisable later. The transition can be traced. Pl. II, 6, shows a phallus with pitted decoration, and it is easy to see how by a little alteration it could be developed into no. 19. The front view of no. 19 is seen in pl. I, 12, where it is shown to be definitely phallic. The ornamental lines of no. 19 are of the same kind as on no. 10 in the same plate, which suggests that no. 10 was also iconic. The example from Mnajdra (pl. II, 11) is of pottery, and is certainly anthropomorphic though reminiscent of the more simple type.

The worship of the phallic stone continued in the south-east of Malta long after it had come to an end elsewhere. The temple of Borg en-Nadur, set above the only inlet on that formidable south coast, was dedicated to the ancient god of Tyre, Melkart, whom the Greeks called the Tyrian Herakles. This temple

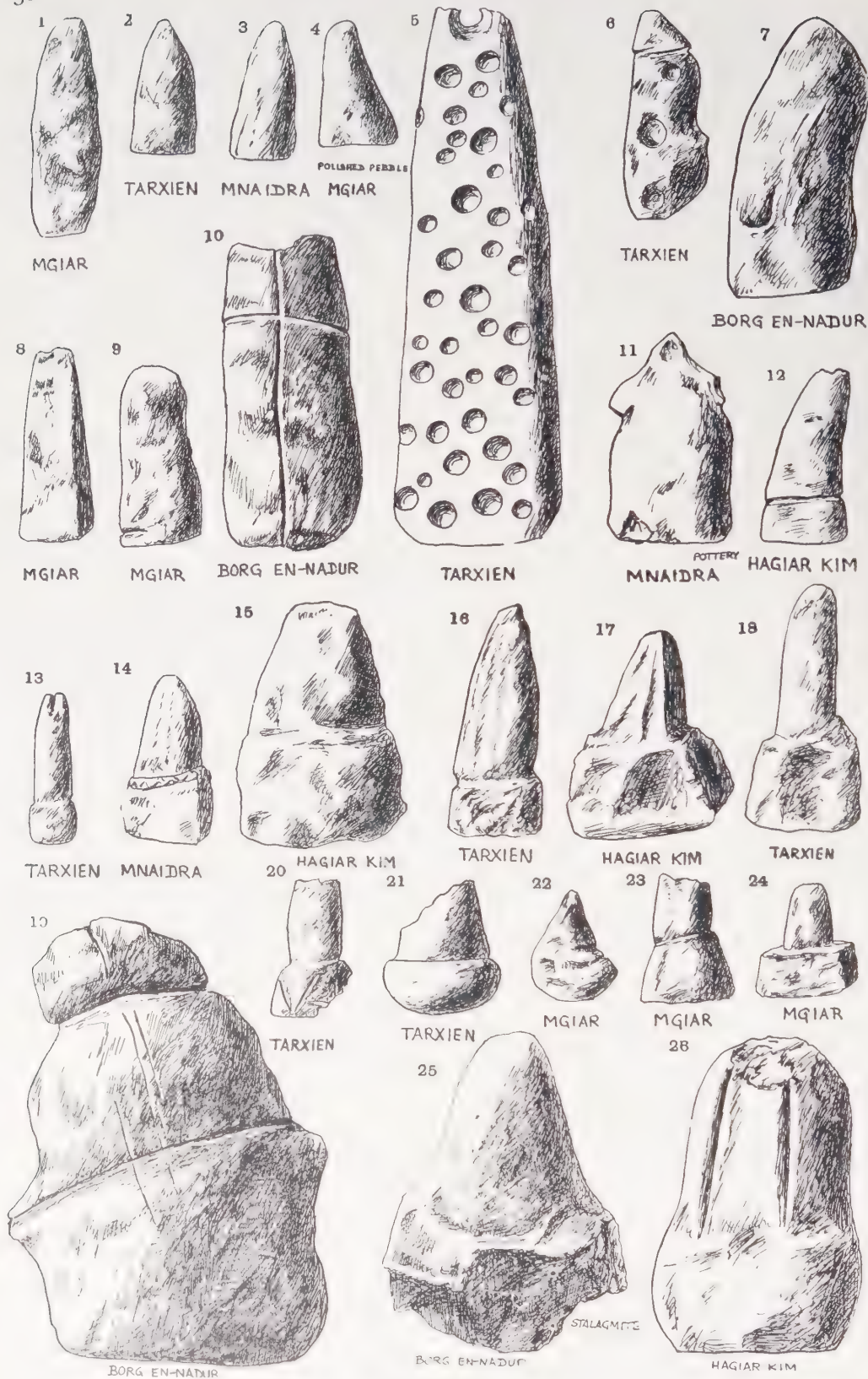


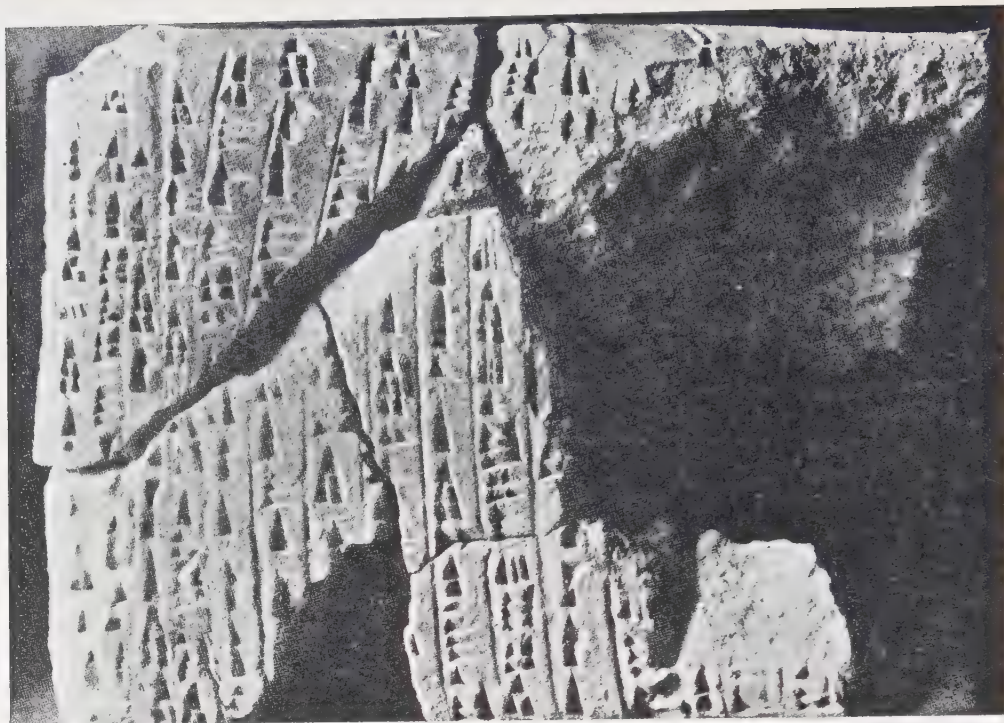
PLATE II.



PLATE III.

was much frequented during the Bronze-age by sailors, their votive offerings of pottery anchors testifying to their gratitude to the god for a safe voyage. These sailors were probably Phoenician, judging by the dedication of the temple, and there are other indications as well. Two phallic stones of traditional form (pl. III, 1, 2) were found, about a century ago, in this temple. One of these stones is now in the Louvre, the other (reproduced here) is in the Malta Museum. The stones, decorated in the taste of the period, are set like some of their Neolithic prototypes on square bases. These bases have become pedestals on which a dedicatory inscription has been carved in Phoenician and Greek. The translation of the Phoenician dedication runs: "A vow from Abd-Osir and his brother Osirxamar, sons of Abd-Osir, to my lord Melkart, lord of Tyre, that he may hear their words and bless them." The Greek inscription is shorter and is interesting as showing the Hellenised forms of the Egyptian names borne by the Tyrian family: "Dionysios and Sarapion, sons of Sarapion of Tyre, to Herakles Archegetes." The date, judging by the style of the Greek lettering, must be the second century B.C. These stones then represent the "pillars" which were sacred to the Tyrian Herakles, and are perhaps copies of the famous gold and emerald pillars which Herodotus saw at Tyre. They are therefore another of the many links in the chain which connects the ancient civilization of Malta with that of Syria.

M. A. MURRAY.



REVERSE.



OBVERSE.

RAS SHAMRA 1929: No. 6.

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RAS SHAMRA AND EGYPT

THE civilisation of Ugarit, recently unearthed at Ras Shamra on the north coast of Syria, has several points of connection with Egypt.

On the one hand, we now know that the Semites who inhabited it came originally from a land contiguous to Egypt and imbued with Egyptian influence, namely, the land of Muzri which comprises N. Arabia and the Sinai Peninsula.¹ On the other hand, we know that in later times the city frequently fell a victim to the warlike expeditions of the Pharaohs and was for long periods under Egyptian domination.

The civilisation of Ugarit contains, therefore, two elements of markedly Egyptian coloration, viz.: (a) the earlier Muzrian; (b) the later Amorite.

The former element has to be disentangled from the latter, the method of procedure being to isolate those factors which appear, both in point of language and of custom, to be of southern importation rather than of native Amorite (*i.e.*, N. Syrian) origin. When these have been isolated we obtain an interesting picture of early Muzrian culture.

This culture is an extremely important, if as yet insufficiently recognized, factor in the ancient history of the Near East. From the earliest times the turquoise mines of Sinai attracted the Semites, and the temple at Serabit al Khadem provides ample evidence of their settlement in this area. In Muzri also the religion of Israel finds its cradle-land. Before his acknowledgment as the national god of the entire Israelitic federation, Yaw was a god of the Muzrians. It was in Sinai that he revealed himself, and it was to the wilderness of Sinai that Moses wished to lead the people out of Egypt to worship him.² It was in Muzri that there lived the Midianite priest Jethro, who became Moses' father-in-law, and in the details of whose religion the Israelite lawgiver must have been well-versed. In the ancient song in Deuteronomy xxxiii, the Muzrian origin of Yaw is stated categorically: "Yhwh came from Sinai and dawned from Seir upon them. He beamed from Mount Paran and came from Meribath-Kadesh (LXX text)."

The influence of Muzrian culture upon Israel is therefore obvious. This lends especial significance to the marked parallelism between sacrificial institutions of the Semites at Ras Shamra and those of the early Israelites, for if the former can be traced to a Muzrian origin and the latter likewise, the similarity stands in an altogether new light, and we seem at last to find sound archaeological evidence "behind the Pentateuch." The parallels in question cover points of ritual and temple-procedure and have been elsewhere enumerated.³ Many of the technical terms used in the Pentateuchal codes (however late be their literary redaction) find herein their ancient prototypes, and we seem even to recover the earlier forms out of which such things as the "Ark of Testimony" or "The Holy of Holies" subsequently evolved.

Nor this alone: the Egyptian connections of Muzri would doubtless have led to a certain amount of Egyptian coloration in that Muzrian myth and folklore which later percolated into Israel. Hence if Egyptian influence or coloration can be detected in certain old Israelitish stories recorded in the Book of Genesis, this may be due solely to an Egyptian element in the original Muzrian "Urform", and need not have resulted from the later sojourn of Israel (or parts of Israel in the land of the Nile.

But it is not only upon Israel that Muzrian influence made itself felt ; it is reasonable to suppose that it also penetrated into Egypt and that much of Egypt's Semitisation is properly to be referred to this source. The extent of this influence cannot yet be gauged, for we know too little about Muzri. One gift, however, which this region made to Egypt is significant ; this was the Alphabet.

It has long been pointed out, notably by Sethe and Gardiner, that the alphabet of the Semitic scribblings at Sinai (c. 1900 B.C.) was, to a large extent, the prototype of Egyptian alphabetical hieroglyphs. Now, it is precisely this alphabet which appears, in a form adapted to wedge-writing, in the Semitic inscriptions of Ugarit. The twists and loops have here been reduced to strokes and wedges, but the identity of the letters is, as Olmstead has shown (fig. 1),⁴ unmistakeable. I therefore propose to speak of the Ras Shamra (Ugaritian) script as "Muzrian cuneiform" and of the Sinaitic script as "Muzrian alphabetical hieroglyphs." That this form of alphabet was once in use in the South of Palestine is a conclusion to which the present writer had already come, and

Fig. I. SOME ALPHABETIC COMPARISONS

	South Arabian	Sinaitic	Ras- Shamra
כ	𐤁	𐤀	𐤁𐤁
ל	𐤀	𐤁	𐤁
ס	𐤁	—	𐤁
נ	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁
נ ₂	—	𐤁	𐤁
ו	—	𐤁	𐤁
ז	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁 (i.e. set horizontally).
ח	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁
ט	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁
י	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁
כ	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁
ל	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁 (i.e horizontal)
מ	𐤁 (i.e vertical)	𐤁	𐤁

[After Olmstead.]

to which Dussaud also came subsequently.⁵ It is now vindicated by the discovery at Beth-Shemesh, near Jerusalem, of a tablet inscribed with the same script.⁶ This alphabet is the lineal ancestor both of the South Arabian and of the Phoenician systems, but into these later ramifications we cannot here enter.

We pass now to the later period of Ugaritian civilization, *i.e.*, the Amorite.

The seaport of Ugarit fell a victim, like many another Amorite city, to the frequent Egyptian invasions during the second millenium B.C. The Poem of Pentaur numbers it among the cities subdued by Rameses II, whilst an Amarna letter⁷ contains an appeal to Pharaoh to protect it from the marauding Hittites, as if he were its lawful guardian. One of the texts⁸ refers to its *rabits* or "governor"—the very word used in the Amarna letters for the Egyptian viceroys, and which I would equate with Egyptian *rwḏ'w* of the same meaning. Moreover, excavation reveals alike in architecture, handicrafts and scarabs Egyptian influence dating back to the Hyksos period. One scarab bears the official name 'Anra which has been found also at Gezer, Jericho, Jerusalem, and Megiddo, whilst another exhibits the "twisted rope" design characteristic of the period between the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties and especially predominant in Hyksos work.

The influence of Egypt upon belief and practice is very pronounced, though little recognized. The following points should be noted.

(i) One of the smaller texts unearthed in 1929 (No. 6) and hitherto obscure seems on examination to be a congratulatory ode to the Egyptian overlord in the form of Horus. He is described, in a poetic crescendo, as "governor" (*hbs*: cf. חֲבֹשׁ Is. iii. 7; Job xxxiv. 17), "ruler" (*mhr*: cp. Egypt. *mhr*; Assy. *mu'irru*), and finally "lord" (*sr*: cp. Egypt. *šr*; Assy. *šarru*). All the maritime states from Tyre to Paphos (in Cyprus) are bidden to pay him honour, just as in a text found at Deir-al-Bahri the islands of the sea pay honour to the monarch's *ka*. He makes his foes "fall flat like a brick" (*klbnt*), just as Horus was greeted at his appearance as he that "triumphs over all evil ones." He "rises like a star of good fortune" (*kbbkt n'm*: cf. Phoen. מוֹל נֶעַם), just as Egyptian kings were said to "rise" The goddess of watersprings shows him favour, *i.e.*, at his accession the land is irrigated, just as the Egyptian Pharaoh produces the annual inundation of the Nile. Noblemen (?) are led up in procession after him, just as at the festival at Edfu and at the royal induction (*bs nī-swt*).

I give below my translation of this text, reserving full philological commentary and transcription for a future publication. A transcription by Dhorme, which differs somewhat from mine, will be found in *Revue Biblique*, January, 1931, p. 43.

(1929: No. 6) *Ode to an Egyptian Overlord.*

(Loquitur Deus): Slay four peace offerings in Tyre! O Paphos, pour . . . libations for thy ruler. Slaughter wild oxen for thy governor, and fowl for thy lord, (saying) "We esteem thee our lord."

And thou, my lord governor (*rbs*), acclaim thy lord, for I it is marked out thy lord (saying unto him):

"Behold, I set thy throne in the (heart of) the seas, high authority is thine! Moreover, thou shalt make thy foemen to fall flat like a brick, and whensoever the soothsayers tell thee that there is violence in them, behold, they shall be made to flee straightway like birds to the farthest edge of the deserts or to the sanctuary of altars!

Thou Horus, (how thou r)isest a very star of good omen (dispelling) the darkness!

Our Lady of the Wellsprings shows thee her favour; she bends the knee unto thee (saying), "Be thou enthroned!"

Nobles (?) do I lead up in procession (behind thee). Thy deeds shine fair. "Better are they," so men say, "even than those of his divine father." Yea, thy report is of good seeming in the mouths of all that wander by the way!

Moreover, among . . . I lead up noble men (?) in procession among thy vassals and . . .

Now when thou art garlanded with garlands, now when thou art robed in light, as a very angel out of heaven thou gettest for thyself thy portion; yea, as a king out of heaven farest thou forth!

Saith the Daystar: "A new star is risen up among you"!

Saith the Firmament: "like . . . Asherat . . . Earth, Baal, Ashtareth, Anath! See, he now is born. Let his glory be rehearsed; let the tale of his conception be noised abroad! Her own breast doth (the Goddess) give him to suck! . . ."

(ii) Another text with Egyptian connections (1929, No. 5) is that which opens with the words: "When Ashtareth inducts Horus." This text has been widely quoted, and the opening lines are usually translated: "When Astarte introduces Horus into the house of the king, *Štrmt* shall put on ten and ten (*'esr 'esr*) . . . as garments. Then *Hšpšt* shall place Horus three camps (*mhn*) from thy house (*dr k*)." I believe, however, that the correct rendering is as follows: "On the occasion when Ashtareth inducts Horus into the palace, tithes shall be levied (*'esr 'esr*) [and brought] into the temple. On that occasion she is to dress in regal raiment (*štrm tlbs*), and Horus is to furnish libations (*ēšp't*) for the three reservoirs (*mzn*) in the temenos (*dr*)." The text describes the levies and offerings payable on the occasion when the "Sacred Marriage" is celebrated between Hathor and Horus. As on many Palestinian figurines, Hathor is here Semitized as Ashtareth. The parts of god and goddess were played by priest and priestess. As Blackman has shown, Egyptian priestesses were often called "Hathor" and priests "Horus."¹⁰ I give below my rendering of this text.

(1929: No. 5) *Ritual for the Induction of "Horus."*

1-8: On the occasion when Ashtareth inducts Horus into the palace, tithes shall be tithed¹ and brought into the temple.

On that occasion she shall attire herself in regal garments, whilst Horus shall furnish libations for the three reservoirs in the temenos.

At the same time, a lamb, an ox and three sheep shall be offered as *šlm*-offerings to the Seven Ladies of Might, and a bullock shall be presented¹ to the gods (*Elim*).

9-16: Over and above these, tithes shall be brought* into the palace as follows: a shekel of gold for Sun and Moon as a tithe; also, a shekel of silver of good type both externally and internally.

As a supplement thereto (?) shall be presented another shekel of gold for Sun and Moon as a tithe, and as well two shekels of silver of good type both externally and internally.

. . . an ox and a sheep.

* In the original, 2nd sg. imperative, addressed to the officiant; this text being his "book of words."

17-23: as their tithes; . . . as their sin-offerings; . . . (ca)lves, rams; . . . as their sin-offerings; . . . as their oblations (?); . . . ; (in fine raiment) shall Horus attire himself.

Then shall the king proceed to the courtyard (?) of the gods (*Elim*).

24-26: To the Sacred Spot of the gods (*Elim*) shall the king proceed on foot; yea, the king shall proceed on foot.

Then the Seven Ladies of Might unto all of them. . . .

Apart from these texts there are also several traces of Egyptian influence in the other tablets. The following is a selected list of points which might be noted:—

(i) In the description ¹¹ of how a certain temple was built, reference is made to the construction of a *bt ar* which would normally mean "house of sunlight, daybreak." This may be explained most satisfactorily as a rendering of Egyptian *pr dw't* "house of daybreak"—a kind of chapel for lustrations, often attached to temples.¹²

(ii) The hierodules are each called *ašt El*, or "wife of God." This looks like a rendering of the Egyptian title *hmt ntr*.

(iii) Two texts written in verse contain rubrics referring to the manner of recitation. In two places¹³ occur the words *šb lm špr*, "turn back to the passage . . ." and *yšb y špr*, "they are to turn back and recite again." This formula is cast upon an Egyptian model, just as when we write N.B. or P.S. we are following a Latin style. In analogous Egyptian texts we sometimes find the rubric *ts phr*, of which the phrases cited are almost literal translations.

(iv) Egyptian texts speak of a Syrian deity *Kn.t* whom it has hitherto proved impossible to identify. The Ras Shamra texts clear up the difficulty when we find the queen-goddess Asherath referred to it by the epithet *kn yt*¹⁴ meaning "glorious" (Arabic كُنْتِي), which compares also with the title *kan ūtu* sometimes given in Assyrian to Íshtar.

(v) In the temple little chapels were erected for various gods, and these were called *mšllm* or "shaded bowers."¹⁵ This suggests an imitation of the Egyptian *sh ntr*.


(vi) A speculative suggestion is that the reason why, despite the marked Egyptian influence upon Ugarit, the only Egyptian god mentioned by name is *Hr* (Horus) is that this deity had once belonged to the native pantheon in Muzri whence the Semites of Ugarit came. His retention, though with Egyptian colouring, would then be easier than the importation into the pantheon of a definitely Egyptian god. This suggestion is based upon the view of Petrie and others that Horus was originally an "Arabian" deity. In this connection, I would call especial attention to חֲר as the name of a Midianite king,¹⁷ and to חֲר as a proper name on Nabatean inscriptions.¹⁸ Cp. also אֲשַׁחֲר (gift of Hur?) as the brother of the southern Jerahmeel,¹⁹ and חֲר in several southern (Judahite) names.²⁰

(vii) Lastly, I would venture the suggestion that the sacrificial term *šlm* usually associated with Hebrew *šelem*, "peace-offering" (or "payment-offering"?), is at Ras Shamra an imitation of the Eg. *htp*. Just as *šlm* suggests *šalom*, "peace, prosperity," so *htp* suggests *htp* of the same meaning.

As Ras Shamra studies are still in their infancy and all the material has not yet been excavated or published, the conclusions here given are therefore subject to future modification.

T. H. GASTER.

NOTES.

1. v. *The Beth-Shemesh Tablet and the Origins of Ras Shamra Culture*, Quart. Statement, P.E.F., April, 1934.
2. Exodus v. 1; vii. 16.
3. v. *The Ras Shamra Texts and the Old Testament*. Quart. Statement, P.E.F., June, 1934; Journal of Transactions of the Society for Promoting the Study of Religions, June, 1934.
4. Martin Sprengling, *The Alphabet*: appendix.
5. *Les Phéniciens du Negeb*; Revue de l'Histoire des Relig. cviii. (1933), pp. 5-49.
6. v. supra n.l.
7. Brit. Mus. 30; Ber. 128.
8. RS. 1929, vi. 9: I suggest "My lord mayor."
9. 
10. JEA vii. (1919), 11ff; ERE xii, 777b.
11. II AB i. 47.
12. v. Blackman, JEA v. (1917), 148ff; 156.
13. II AB iv-v. 104; *Shahar-Shalem*, 56-7. Editions of both by the present writer are forthcoming.
14. II AB i. 16.
15. II AB i. 14, 18.
16. I AB ii. 8-9; cf. II AB iv-v. 18.
17. Numbers xxxi. 8; Joshua xiii. 21.
18. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 200.
19. I Chronicles ii. 24; iv. 5.
20. e.g., Exodus xxxviii. 22.
21. *Shahar-Shalem*, xiii. 28.

THE CULT-HUT OR MANDI OF THE MANDAEANS.

THE use of a cult-hut called a *mandi* (fig. 1) is mentioned by Bar Khuni (or Konai) writing in the VIIIth century A.D., as being peculiar to the Mandaean religion. His theories as to the origin of the religion are as fanciful and charitable as polemics usually are, but the mention of the cult-hut as part of the cult is significant. In the sacred books themselves, the cult-hut is given the name *mashkhana*, and not *mandi*, and when I have asked the priests why, they say that *mandi* means *mashkhana* or dwelling. One priest added, "The word is Persian."

Many of the names of Mandaean cult-objects and of divine beings are of Persian or Indo-Iranian origin, and it is, therefore, not unlikely that this word "*mandi*" may, as the priest suggested, be of Persian origin and have nothing whatever to do with the Semitic root '*ada*, to know. Throughout the holy books

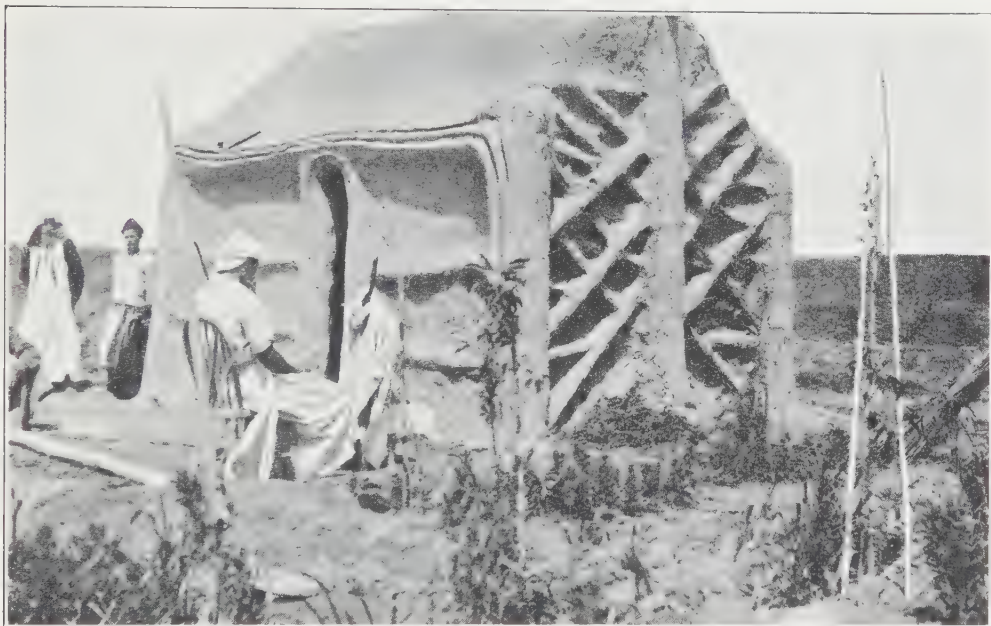


FIG. 1.

of the Mandaeans (*Mandai*) the word for "knowledge" is *madita*. The favourite personage in the Mandaean pantheon, however, is called Manda d Hiia, and this has been translated, without dissent, as far as I know, as "knowledge of life," and the word "*Mandai*" as "gnostics." It is a most natural conclusion, but it is only a philologist who can say if it is possible that the word may come from a totally different source. Manda d Hiia is a personification certainly, but I own that I have doubts that he is a personification of "Knowledge of Life." When separated from the name Manda d Hiia, the meaning "knowledge" becomes a little strained, as, for instance, in the sentence (*Qulasta*),

"Thou (Manda d Hiia) art . . . the great Tree which is all *mandia*."
(plural)

The tree is a common religious symbol of divine Life, and the souls of Mandaeans are not infrequently represented as birds taking refuge in the shelter

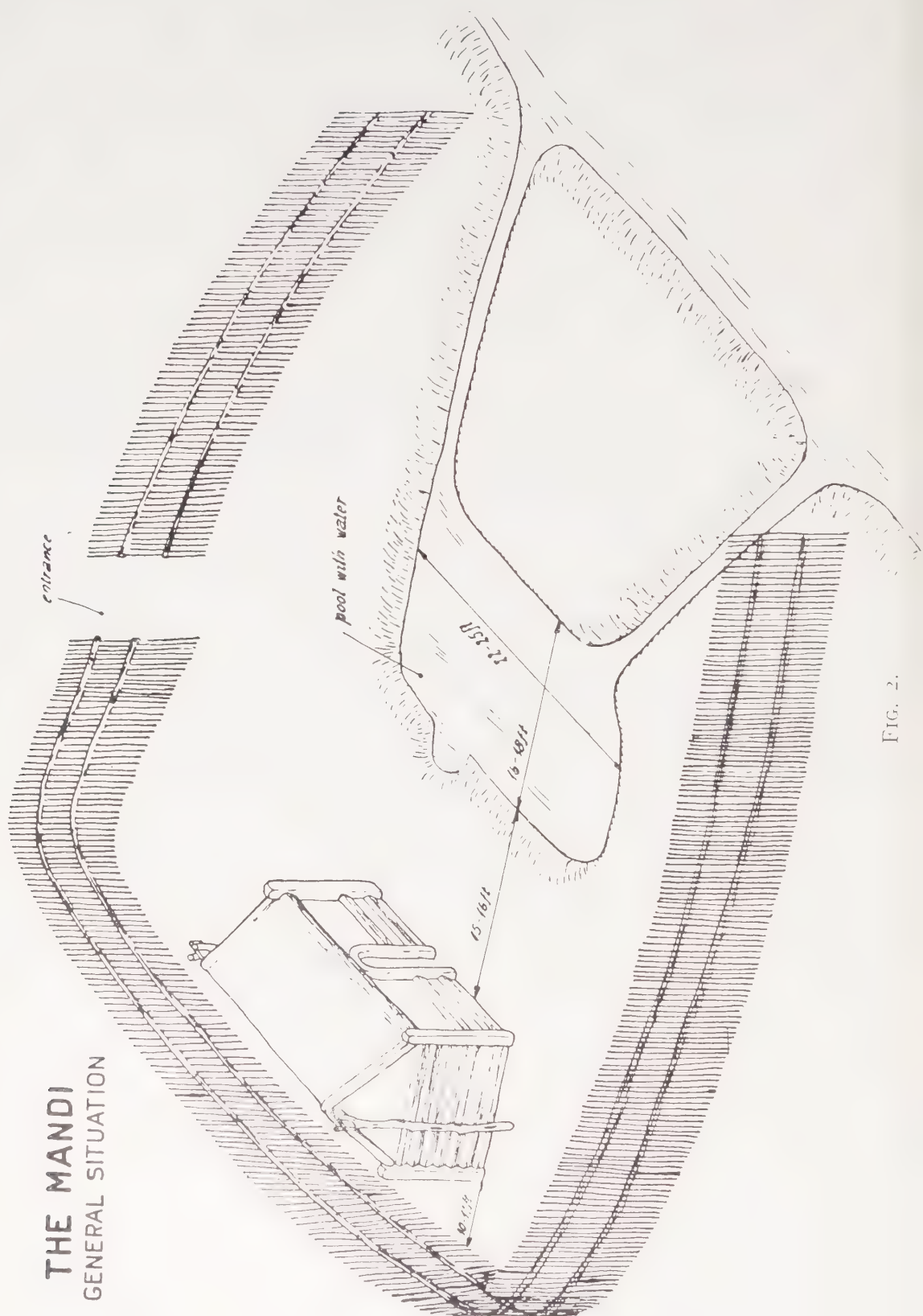


FIG. 2.

of a Vine or a Tree against the tempests of the world. To translate the word "dwellings" or "shelters" would, therefore, make sense.

The present-day Mandai (or Şubba), who inhabit the marshes and banks of the lower reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates in 'Irāq and the towns and villages in Khuzistān have a clear tradition which throws still more light on the possible origin of the word "mandi." It is generally known, and I have heard it from both priests and laymen. This tradition or legend is that the Mandai once inhabited a mountainous country where there were hot springs, called the *Tura d Maddai*, or "*Tura d Mandai*" (the former is the commoner form). This "mountain" figures in the illustrations to one of the Diwāns which I have seen. In a forthcoming book I intend to go into these legends; suffice it to say here that the more learned amongst the priests point to this mountainous country as being to the north-west (that is, the country below and about the Caspian Sea). There was a district known as Manda in late Babylonian times; Winckler, in *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen Geschichte* 1889, places this "Manda" "am kaspischen Meere und östlich davon." There are conflicting ideas as to the whereabouts of this province. About 553 B.C. (I quote from the Cambridge Ancient History), the god Marduk, appearing to Nabonidus in a dream, bade him restore the ancient and famous moon-temple of Harran. The king urged that it was still in the hands of the Umman-Manda, and asked how could a Babylonian king "interfere with their share of the spoil obtained by Cyaxeres? The god answered that the Umman-Manda were dead or scattered, for in the third year of Nabonidus Cyrus, the king of Anzan, had defeated them, carried Ishtumegu (Astyages) into captivity and had spoiled their city of Ectbatana."

Winckler surmises that the Umman-Manda were possibly a Median tribe. Rogers, in his history of Persia, ventures the equation that the Manda were Madai, or Medes. Delattre (*Le peuple et l'Empire des Mèdes*, 1883), say :—

"Dans l'inscription babylonienne qui porte son nom, Cyrus, déjà maître de toute l'Asie occidentale, divise les peuples qui lui obéissent en trois groupes, les peuple de Qûti ou Guti, les peuples de Tsalmat-qaqqadi, et les peuples de Manda. Les Qûti étaient les peuples de l'Arménie, les peuples de Tsalmat-qaqqadi étaient la masse des nations soumises aux empires essentiellement sémitiques de Ninive et de Babylone. Les peuples de Manda étaient les sujets des rois Mèdes. Nabonide donne à Astyage le titre de "roi des hommes de Manda." La dénomination de "hommes de Manda" est appliqué par Asarhaddon aux Gimirriens (Cimmériens, peuple de Gomer, voisin de la Mer Noire), auxquels la Bible attribue les affinités avec les Mèdes, et qui aidèrent ceux-ci à ruiner l'empire de Ninive. De cet ensemble, est-il permis de conclure que le nom de "peuple de Manda" était une qualification ethnique désignant les peuples aryens voisins du Caucase, comme les Cimmériens, ainsi que les peuples de l'Iran?"

What is the actual meaning of this word *manda* or *Mada* if this trail be followed? It occurs in many dialects derived from old Persian; for instance, in Northern India the word *mandi* means a bazaar, or covered-in market. In Gujerati there are the words *mandap* or *mandva*, meaning a "shelter" or "pavilion," and the Todas of the Nilgiris in Southern India, who also have a tradition of migration from the Caspian, call their village, or group of huts with a dairy for the sacred buffaloes,* a *mand*. *Ma-Da* occurs in Sumerian as meaning

* Buffaloes and kine are sacred to the Mandaeans also, and their byres are within the courtyard-enclosures of the houses.

land, or settlement, but is probably a loaned word. A correspondent equates *mada* with the Kurdish *malh* (home, house). *Mada* leads us back to the Madia or Medes. May we conclude from all this and other evidence that the word originally had a meaning of "a settlement," "dwelling-place" or "shelter," and indicated a building or collection of buildings in contrast to the temporary erections of wandering tribes?

To return to the Mandaean "*mandi*" or cult-hut: certain laws as to its construction and proportions, its materials, and its shape, are prescribed by written law and tradition. Those that I have seen vary slightly in size, but not in proportion or general plan. During the four days preceding *Panja* or the five days' lustration (or baptism) feast, the *mandi* is looked upon as defiled, because these four days are dedicated to the powers of darkness. I have been

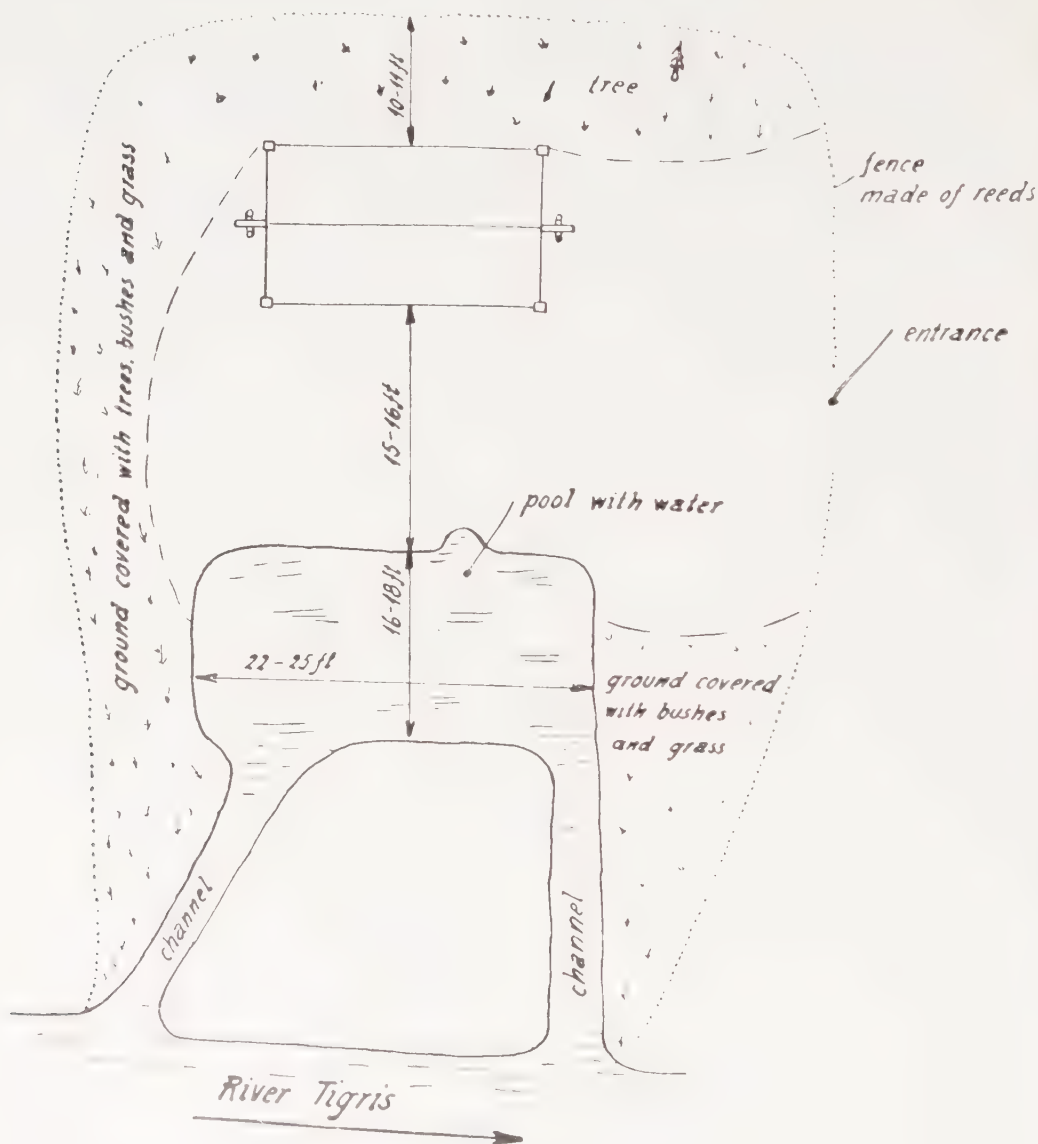


FIG. 3.

able, during these, therefore, to make exact observations as to its structure and measurements, and to take photographs. The *mandi* is always built on a river bank (figs. 2, 3), has a fencing of reeds, or a mud wall, round it (not essential, its purpose is to screen the rites from the eyes of the profane), and is invariably linked with a lustration pool* fed from the river by a water-channel, another channel (fig. 4) conveying the water away from the *mandi* and back to the river, or into the fields, the object being that the water shall be perpetually flowing, and the pool hold "living" and not "cut-off" water.

Both hut and pool are enclosed by the reed fence or mud wall (*tōf*) which passes over the two water-channels, and during the immersion ceremonies, with the subsequent sacraments of bread and water, a white silk banner, about three *dhras* long, is erected on the bank to the right of the hut, a position which never varies.



FIG. 4.

Before describing the cult-hut more fully, I must begin by saying that it is a simple construction of reeds and reed-mats (*buwāri*) daubed with mud. Reed-

* The use of a ritual pool or *apsu* in connection with Ea, god of the waters, seems to have formed part of the Sumerian cults at Eridu, the ancient city site only a short march from a modern *mandi* at Sūq-esh-Shūyukh. Father Burrows, in a recent publication (*Orientalia. Problems of the Abzu: Commentari Periodici Pontifici Institutii Biblici*: Rome, 1932) discussed the *apzu* or *abzu*, which, he concludes, cannot have been a libation drain as has been suggested, but a basin or pool, pointing out that some of the names of cult-*abzus* at Lagash indicate pools "connected with canals, or the like."

huts (or *ṣarāif*) are the usual dwellings of inhabitants of the marshes and of the Ma'adān Arabs of the south, whereas the black hair tent betokens the desert Arab, or the gypsy (*Kauliyah*), that is to say, the nomad and herdsman rather than the settled or semi-settled tribesman. The villages of the marsh-Arab are built entirely of reeds, whereas the shepherd-tribes of the waterless plains use exclusively the black, woollen tent. If a nomad tribe settles, it at once uses the reed-mat instead of the woven wool tent-cloth, as in the case of the Beni Tamīm, who have become settled during the past fifteen years. Almost any southern town of 'Irāq, from Baghdad downwards, has a suburb of reed-huts inhabited by *fellahin* (agricultural labourers) and a floating population who bring in dairy produce, fowls, or sheep to the town markets.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

There are several types of reed huts, the most common being the *kūkh*, (figs. 5, 6), the supporting framework of which is bundles of reeds tied and bound together at the top so as to form half-hoops. This is used almost exclusively in the marshes. The next type is called the *jemāli*, which is more permanent and weather-proof in character, and differs in construction. A ridge-pole is supported, either by two forked poles or by two bundles of reeds split at the top into a fork. The ridge-pole gives the reed-matting thrown over it its main support, and the roof slopes down, therefore, steeply to the low side walls, the end walls being higher, as in an English thatched cottage. The walls consist of standing bundles of reeds (*qasab*) bound tightly together by rushes (*bardi*), or ropes made of rushes, with crosswise bundles fastened transversely to the uprights. The reed-matting which covers both roof and walls is often daubed with mud, and the walls in more permanent communities undergo a logical development and are built of *liban* (mud) instead of reeds. The semi-nomad inhabitant then becomes a house-dweller.

The *jemāli* grows increasingly common the nearer one approaches to Basrah, or to the Persian border, and in Southern Persia it is almost universal. I am



FIG. 7.

told that the "thatched cottage" type of hut (fig. 7) with reed roof, or reed roof reinforced by rough thatching of reeds above four mud walls, is extremely common near the Caspian Sea, where travellers are reminded of the thatched cob cottages of Devon. The pent roof may have been devised that snow may slide off on to the ground.

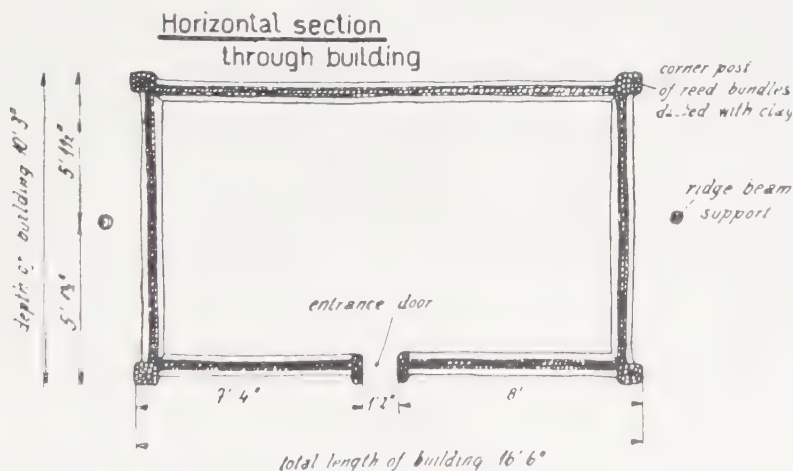


FIG. 8.

The *mandi* is of the *jemāli* type, which suggests a Persian origin. It is oblong in shape (fig. 8), the north and south walls being the long walls, and is built so that a person entering the small opening in the middle of the south wall (fig. 9) will face the North Star, which is the correct *Qiblah* or direction which a man must face when praying. The door-opening is narrow, only about 14 inches wide, and is about 60 to 65 inches high. The top of the entrance is narrower, and the mud with which the reed substructure is faced is moulded into a rough triple arch. One *mandi* that I saw also had a triple moulding about the entire south

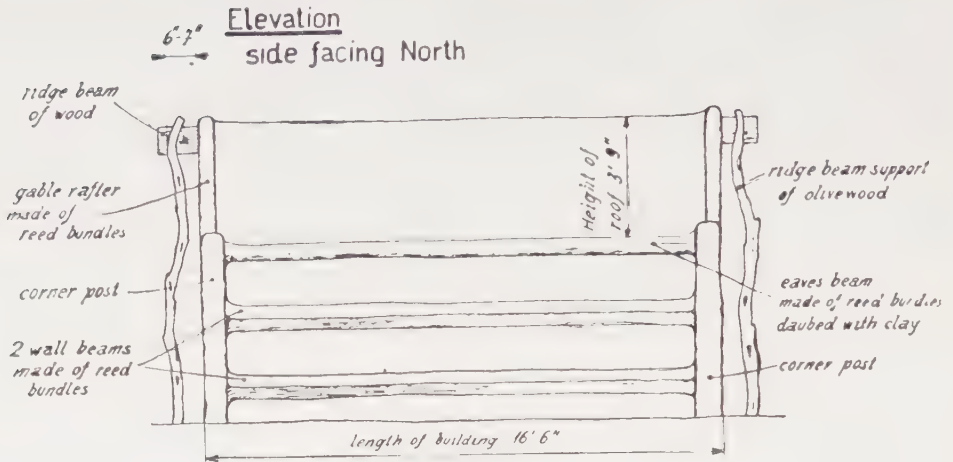


FIG. 9.

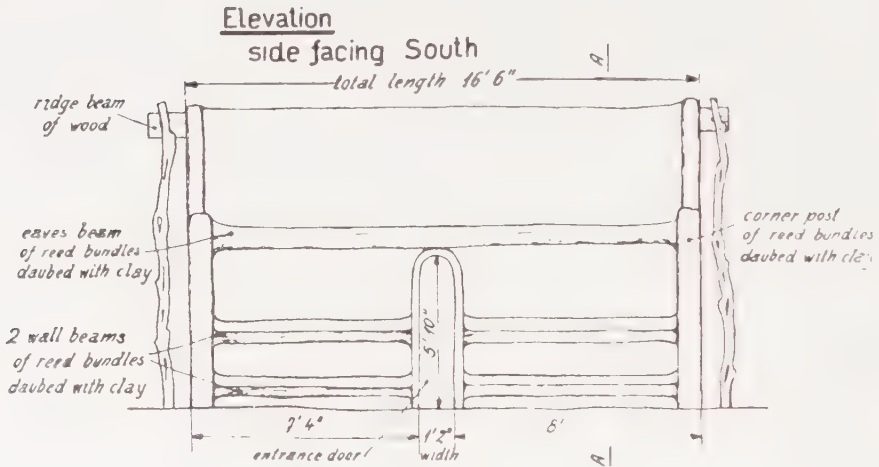


FIG. 10.

face of the *mandi*, called *misra*. The ridge-pole projecting from the *mandi* is supported by two strong bundles of reeds daubed with mud, and in the case of two *mandia* that I have examined the ridge-pole had further support in the shape of two poles, forked at the top to receive the ridge-pole (fig. 10). These supporting poles, of olive wood, were some inches away from the actual reed-supports, and were entirely clear of the building itself, for the ridge-pole, which runs east and west, projects at each end. The dimensions may differ, but, I am informed by Mandaeans themselves, the number of reed bundles may not vary. The verticals from the ground to the ridge pole (*'ardhāna*)* on the east and west sides of the *mandi* (including the vertical in which the *'ardhāna* is placed) are called *shebbab* (singular, *shebba*). The cross-pieces (*hattār*) on each wall are seven in number, so that there are forty-two in all. The two upright bundles of reeds, or *shebbab*, which support the ridge-pole are called *tikm* (sing., *tikmah*). The half of the *tilmah* which projects from the wall measures about 57 centimetres.

* The common Arab word for the ridge pole is *jisr* or bridge.

The photograph of the *mandi* (fig. 1) illustrates the manner in which the cross-pieces are used.

The interior of the hut shows the construction of the *mandi* even better than the exterior, but I was not able to take a photograph owing to the absence of light. From within one sees that beneath the reed-matting (*bāriya*, plural *buwāri*) there is a layer of stout reeds (fig. 11) knotted together with string so as

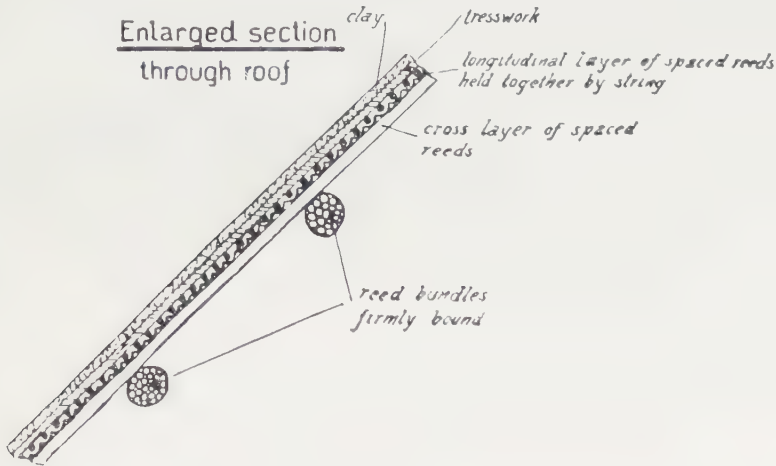


FIG. 11.

to keep them in place, a fabric which recalls the reed screens made by the tribeswomen of the desert to screen off their part of the tent from the men's part. Across this, at right angles on both slanting sides of the roof, are placed seven bundles of reeds, and across these again three long bundles (fig. 12) run from east to west. There is no window and no inner decoration. The only detail in the interior to be noticed is the presence of two pegs, called *shugāsa*, which project, like a V placed sideways, from each *tikmah* at the east and south ends of the structure. The point of the V is not closed, and I was told that the object of the pegs is to provide support for a dish or for clothes.

No iron or nail is employed in the building at all, but that has little ritual significance, as the same might be said of any reed hut in the marshes. The only lighting is from the door, and there is no kind of decoration or floor covering.

The *mandi* is not used for any cult in which laymen take part, and even

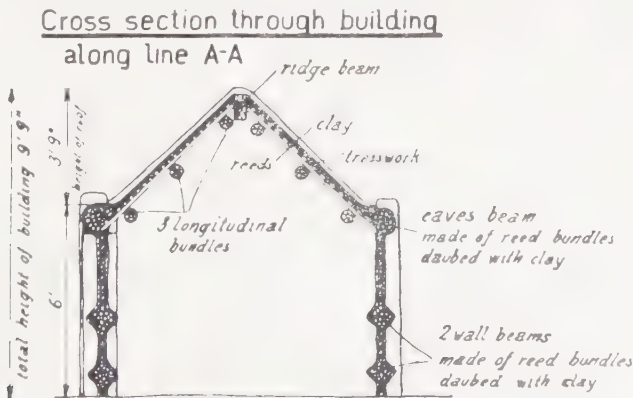


FIG. 12.

the *zidqa brikha*, or solemn eating for the dead, in which priests only take part, takes place without its walls. But the ceremony known as the "*taraša d mandi*," or consecration of the *mandi*, which takes place once a year at the end of the five days' baptism feast (*Paranoia* or *panja*) is partly performed within the *mandi*, as are some of the ceremonies connected with the consecration of a priest. In the book shortly to be published I have dealt with these cults, and particularly with the re-consecration of the *mandi*. It is a ceremony oddly close to the re-consecration ceremonies for a desecrated temple translated in M. F. Thureau-Dangin's *Rituels Accadiens*.

The pool is usually reached by a rough step, so that the candidate for ablution may step up and down without difficulty. Upon this step, or upon the bank, he places his offering to the priest on emerging from the water. He then faces the north (and the *mandi*) for the ensuing administration of the sacraments of bread and water. No part of the "baptismal" or "sacramental" rites takes place within the edifice.

The plan given is not that of the *mandi* of the photographs, which is at Litlaṭa, but that of Qal'at Ṣālih, which is bigger and has the supporting poles as well as the reed *tikm*.

E. S. STEVENS (Mrs. E. M. DROWER).

NOTE.—In Mrs. Drower's article there are many points of interest. One of the most suggestive is the style of building of the *mandi*, which shows that the cult-hut of modern 'Irāq is a survival of a primitive type. The hieroglyphs show that the forked support was a common form in ancient Egypt, being used to hold up vines (fig. 2), and also as a central post for light structures built of reeds (figs. 1 and 3). That such structures had a religious significance is indicated by the fact that the cult-hut (fig. 1) is placed above the sign which means a festival; the inference necessarily being that the hut was an integral part of the religious ceremonial.

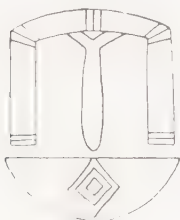


FIG. 1.

TOMB OF PTAH-HETEP,
DYN. V.



FIG. 2.

TOMB OF TEHUTI-HETEP,
DYN. XII.



FIG. 3.

TOMB OF PTAH-HETEP,
DYN. V.

Again, Mrs. Drower mentions the mud-covered reed-pillars which recall the primitive pillars which must have characterized the earliest attempts at building in ancient Egypt. Such pillars are known to us by the imitations in stone, which are found in almost every temple in Egypt from the IIIrd dynasty to Ptolemaic times.

M. A. MURRAY.

THE SYRIAN PROBLEM IN THE EL-AMARNA PERIOD.

THE foreign politics of the El-Amarna period present great difficulties. Many attempts have been made to solve the mystery of the attitude of Akhenaten towards the Syrian province, and it is usually assumed that he was in possession of full information concerning the province, but refused to act. The suggestion is now made, however, that examination of the evidence shows that this assumption may not be justified.

The details which the text of the letters furnishes lead to the conclusion that Akhenaten was not aware of the real situation, and that no help was sent to the struggling chieftains in Syria because he was kept in ignorance of their plight by the treachery of the court officials.

It is therefore suggested that the text of the letters should be examined from an entirely new angle, viz., the religious standpoint; for nobody would doubt that religion was a matter of overwhelming importance in that era.

The manner in which the religious revolution of El-Amarna times reacted upon the official correspondence can be noticed, and this, together with other data, provides information which, it would seem, suggests a solution of the mystery of the Syrian problem.

The facts of the situation are briefly these: There was a certain amount of disloyalty and intrigue among the states on the northern borders of the Egyptian Empire, and, in addition to this, Syria was over-run with hordes of warriors, *Sa-Gas*, as they are usually called. The prince of Jerusalem gives them the name of *Khabiru*. They apparently came from the North-East, and were evidently people without a nation and without a home. Soldiers of fortune, they were ready to serve any master who paid them adequately. There is an example in Kn 195¹ of the *Sa-Gas* being in the service of one of the princes as loyal to Egypt. Namiawaza writes (Kn 195, 24 ff.):—

“ Behold, I, together with my warriors, and my chariots and my brothers, and my *Sa-Gas* people, and my Suti (will go) with the troops to that place whither the king my Lord commands.”

Usually, however, and eventually entirely, the *Sa-Gas* were employed by the disloyal princes of Syria to shake off the Egyptian yoke and to win for themselves a precarious independence.

The text of the El-Amarna letters illustrates the fact that the thoroughness of the religious revolution even reached “ the place of the records of the king’s

¹ Kn=J. A. Knudtzon, *El-Amarna tafeln*, 1915. The numbers given throughout refer to this book.

house," for the tablets containing official documents which had been brought to El-Amarna were taken out from the place of storage and scrutinized. The name of the god "Amon" which was erased throughout Egypt at this time was also erased from these diplomatic and official letters. That the erasure of the name "Amon" in the letters was no accident but carried out according to a definite plan is quite clear from the detail, which the text of the various letters exhibits.

That tablets of former reigns were stored and consulted as required is evident from the fact that Rib-Addi writes in *Letter 74*, lines 10 ff., to the king:—

"Let the king look at the tablets of the house of his father, whether or not the Man who is in Gebal is a true servant."

It will be found on examination of the text of the letters that on some occasions the name of "Amon" is erased, and on some *this does not occur*. No example seems to present any great difficulty of explanation, and it is in the explanation of this variation that the solution of the Syrian problem seems to manifest itself.

The letters concerned may be divided into two distinct types, viz.:—

(a) Letters to, and letters from, monarchs.

(b) Letters from vassal princes to kings and others.

Let us therefore consider the text of the letters from the standpoint already indicated, viz., the religious standpoint.

Letter 1 is addressed by Amenhetep III to Kadašman-ḫarbe, king of Karaduniaš. There seems to be a very definite reason why this letter should have been found in Egypt, and not at its destination. Its contents show that correspondence had passed between the two monarchs regarding the sending of a princess to Egypt, with a view to marriage either with the monarch himself or, more likely, with the heir. The letter cannot, on any showing, be considered to be couched in tactful phraseology, and if it had been received it might have created a distinctly hostile attitude towards Egypt. Since even as this period disaffection and disloyalty were already beginning to manifest themselves in the dependent states which lay on the remote borders of the Empire, it would have been an unwise policy to provoke hostility among the neighbouring states which were not dependent upon Egypt.

From the letter which Tušratta addressed to the widowed Queen Tiy, and those which he addressed to Amenhetep IV (Akhenaten), it is quite evident that Queen Tiy was a person of considerable importance in the court of Amenhetep IV. It is therefore suggested that, considering the contents of this remarkable letter (No. 1) and the fact that Queen Tiy was anxious to preserve friendly relationship with neighbouring states, as is seen from the Mitannian correspondence, it was she who brought it about that the letter was not sent, but was hidden with the other tablets. It is also very likely that the queen was not anxious for an alliance in marriage of a Babylonian princess with her son, as she seems to have regarded the Mitannian alliance as of supreme importance.

When the tablets were brought out and examined during the reign of Akhenaten in order that the name of "Amon" might be erased, evidently this letter was not produced. It lay hidden at El-Amarna bearing on line 46, clearly written, the forbidden name:

ilu A . ma . nu . um . = "Amon." (1) (See below.)

Another letter dealing with the same subject, *Letter 31*, was addressed by Amenhetep III to Tarḫundaraba. Evidently this also was not dispatched.

These letters can scarcely be duplicates as there is no evidence to show that duplicates of letters were made and stored.^a There does not seem to be any other explanation of the strange circumstance of the preservation of the word "Amon" on this letter; on other letters addressed to Amenhetep III the word "Amon" is obliterated without exception, as the following examples indicate.

There are eleven letters from Tušratta, king of Mitanni (together with two lists of gifts (nos. 22 and 25), which are, of course, of no importance for our present purpose). The influence of the religious movement of El-Amarna is illustrated in a most interesting way in this correspondence.

In *Letter 17*, line 33, Tušratta makes mention of the name of the god Tešub; but it was the name "Amon" which was the forbidden expression at El-Amarna, and the name Tešub was apparently allowed to remain.

The same is found to be the case in *Letter 19*. On line 15 the name Tešub appears and it is not erased, but it is quite clear that on the same line the name "Amon" with the divine ideogram had been interfered with, and a not too successful erasure made. This line is as follows:—

"May Tešub, the Lord, and Amon (establish) it as it is now for ever" (2).

Line 24 of the same letter reads:—

"May Ištar and Amon grant to the heart of my brother a fulfilment of his wish" (3). In this case also the word "Amon" has been partly erased. Lines 75 and 76 of this letter read:—

"And the words which we send, may Tešub, the lord, and Amon lead them (convey)" (4). Here again the word "Amon" had been partially removed.

Letter 20, also written by Tušratta to Amenhetep III, contains some interesting points. Line 26 reads:—

"And Amon the god of my brother" (5). The name "Amon" with the determinative is erased, but in line 25 the name "Ištar" is left untouched.

In line 61, Tešub is not erased.

Line 74 reads:—

"May Tešub and Amon grant this" (6). The name Amon with the determinative is erased.

Letter 21, from Tušratta to Amenhetep III, mentions the name Ištar on lines 15 and 18, and in neither case is there any erasure. On line 32 he uses the expression: "the gods of my brother." No erasure occurs here.

Letter 23, from Tušratta to Amenhetep III, mentions on line 13 the name "Ištar": "Ištar of Nineveh, the goddess of the lands," and the name is not erased. Also on line 26 we read: "May Ištar, the goddess or queen of heaven,

^a Out of over 340 letters there is evidence that of only two were copies made. At the end of *Letter 23*, addressed by Tušratta to Amenhetep III, there is written in hieratic,

"Copy (of the letter) which the messenger brought", and at the end of *Letter 27*, addressed by Tušratta to Amenhetep IV, there is written in the same script,

"Copy of the letter from Naharaina."

There is no reason to believe that *Letter 1* is a duplicate, but it is certainly curious that a duplicate of *Letter 27* should have the term *A . ma . a . nu* on line 87.

protect my brother and me." The letter finishes with the curious phrase:—

"Now Ištar is a goddess to me."

"And to my brother she is not a goddess."

In no case is the name Ištar erased, which seems to suggest that only the name "Amon" was the forbidden name; or at least the order was given that the name "Amon" must be obliterated, and the scribes did merely as they were ordered.

Letter 26, addressed by Tušratta to the widowed Queen Tiya, carefully avoids all reference to the names of any of the gods. This is remarkable when the frequent use of these names in his letters to Amenhetep III is taken into account. *He evidently realised that a change had taken place at the death of Amenhetep III.*

Letter 27, from Tušratta to Amenhetep IV (Akhenaten). Sir Flinders Petrie, in *Syria and Egypt*, places this letter as the last of the Tušratta series; and it would seem from its contents that this position is correct.

The letter shows traces of impatience and disappointment on the part of Tušratta, for evidently Akhenaten had not treated him so handsomely as he expected. Curiously enough, on line 87 there appears an expression, which is not found in any other part of the correspondence which was addressed to the monarch or his mother after the death of Amenhetep III. The signs on the tablet are extremely doubtful, as it is very much broken at this point and the only signs visible appear to be:—

Tešub u il(u) A [m] A [a . nu] . . . " (The god) Tešub and the god . . ." (7). The signs may read "Tešub" and "Amon", but it is not possible to say with anything like certainty; the name does not appear to be obliterated in this case. The difficulty arises from the tablet being broken. There is, of course, the possibility that the faint traces of signs may represent Ištar, and thus the text may read "Tešub and Ištar." The term "Amon" may possibly be read; and there is the possibility that the king did not see the letter. The contents suggest that it may have been hidden.

Letter 28. This letter is addressed by Tušratta to Amenhetep IV (Akhenaten), and all mention of the names of the gods is carefully avoided.

The same state of things is found in *Letter 29*, also addressed by Tušratta to Akhenaten. No mention of the names of any gods is found.

The letters of Rib-Addi present a curious problem. They show a seemingly loyal prince holding out against powerful enemies. He appeals continually to the Egyptian monarch for help, and though no replies to his letters have been discovered, the letters themselves often furnish the replies. More often than not, no reply was received and no help came, despite his frantic appeals. Evidently some sort of reply did once reach him, for he quotes it in a letter. The reply seemed to have been "Protect yourself"—and he answers "How can he do this?" If such a course had been possible, there seems to be no reason why he should have continued writing to Egypt. There seems to be only one explanation to this problem, and that is that the letters of appeal were hidden from the king, and the foolish reply which he received, viz., "Protect yourself," was the work of some official.

If the king had actually seen these letters, it is very curious that the phrase, "May the goddess of Gebal give might to the king", was permitted to remain in the letters without any erasure. It appears in *Letter 31* and perhaps in *Letter 38*. One can scarcely believe that such a phrase would be permitted with regard to the king if when the royal scribes wrote (*Letter 162*, line 78), "And mayest thou know that it is well with the king as the sun in heaven".

Again, in twelve of the letters the monarch is addressed as *Šar ta . am . ha . ra*, "King of battle". One could scarcely imagine a more inappropriate title for Akhenaten. It cannot be pleaded that Rib-Addi was an ignorant Syrian, who did not know the true state of affairs in Egypt. As a matter of fact, he is quite conversant with the royal title, and addresses the king in almost every letter as:—

ilu Šamši . ia or *ilu Šamaš matati*.

"My Shemesh (Aten or Sun)", "The Shemesh (or Aten) of the lands". The ugly fact reveals itself however that even Rib-Addi himself was not absolutely loyal. While he carefully avoids mention of the forbidden name "Amon," which does not appear in any of the 53 letters which he addressed to the king, when he wrote to the nobles at court he pursued another course.

To *Haia* (in *Letter 71*, line 4) he writes, "May *Amon*, the god of the king, give thee might in the presence of the king" (8).

To *Amanappa* (in *Letter 86*, line 3) he writes, "May *Amon*, the god of the king, give thee might in the presence of the king" (9).

In *Letter 87*, line 5, he writes to him again, "May *Amon* and *Ba'alit* of *Gebal* give thee might in the presence of the king" (10).

Though all these three letters evidently belong to the period of Akhenaten, the name "Amon" is not erased in any of them; it stands clearly written on the tablets.

It also appears un erased in *Letter 95*, from Rib-Addi to a noble. Lines 3 and 4 read, "May *Amon* and *Ba'alit*, the goddess of *Gebal*, give thee might in the presence of the king thy lord" (11).

It is evident, therefore, that although these letters which were addressed to court officials were stored in "the place of the records" at El-Amarna, they did not receive the same treatment with regard to the name "Amon" as other letters. The explanation of this seems to be obvious: that Akhenaten did not know of the existence of these letters which contained the forbidden name of "Amon," or the name would have been erased; and since these letters were hidden, it is very likely that the other letters of Rib-Addi to the monarch himself, dealing with the same subject and making the same appeal, were also hidden. The opening phrases, "May *Ba'alit*, the goddess of *Gebal*, give might to the king", "The king of battle", and such passages as, in *Letter 116*, lines 63 ff., "and behold, the gods, and *Šamaš*, and *Ba'alit* of *Gebal* have granted thee to sit upon the throne of the house of thy father over thy land", must have made the letters abhorrent to Akhenaten, and therefore the officials either from fear or disloyalty hid them.

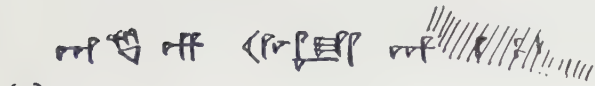
The letters which *Aziri* addressed to Akhenaten carefully avoid any mention of the name "Amon." *Aziri* was obviously disloyal to Egypt, but evidently desired to keep on good terms with his overlord until he had secured his own position as a rebel.

In one of his letters to *Dudu*, a court official, however, *Aziri* gives a slight hint of his disloyalty. In *Letter 164*, line 40, he writes, ". . . to my gods and the god A" (12). It seems fairly evident that "A" stands for *Amon*, as the form of the letter makes "Adad" impossible. From these facts, therefore, it seems possible that the true position in Syria was not made known to Akhenaten, that the letters from the Syrian chieftains were not read to him, and that disloyalty prevailed among all the chieftains and even among the court officials. Letters were addressed by the chieftains to court officials containing the name

"Amon", showing that they believed that secretly the officials were disloyal to the monarch and his religion, and that they might make use of the forbidden name to the officials, when they dare not use it in their correspondence addressed to the king. Some facts, however, were evidently reported to the king. The death of the "Man of Gebal" (whom one may suppose was Rib-Addi) had come to his knowledge, and his letter to the "Man of Amurra" is a masterpiece of dignified restraint. This letter (no. 162) was apparently never dispatched as it was found at El-Amarna, which again suggests disloyalty among the court officials. It would seem essential, therefore, that the details of these letters be carefully considered before any conclusion is reached concerning the foreign politics of the El-Amarna period.

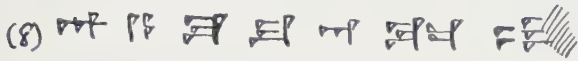
J. R. TOWERS.

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(7) 

= *ilu* *kešub* *u* *ilu*

(K 27.87. WA 23).

(8) 

= *ilu* *a.ma.na* *ilu* *ša* *par[ri]* (KN 71.4 WA 72)

(9) 

= *ilu* *a.ma*... (KN 86.3. BB 21) Broken tablet

(10) 

= *ilu* *a.ma.na* *u* *iltu* *bêlit* (KN 87.5. BB 22)

(11) 

= *ilu* *a.ma.na* *u*
u *iltu* *bêlit* *ša* *ilu* *gub.la* (KN 95.3-4. WA 70)

(12) 

= *a.ma* *ilāni.ia* *u* *a.ma* *ilu* *A.* (KN 164.40 WA 38)

KN = EL AMARNA TAFELN. J.A. KNUDTON

WA = THONTAFELFUND I-III H. WINCKLER.

BB = TEL EL AMARNA TABLETS, C BEZOLD AND WALLIS BUDGE.

 INDICATES SIGNS DELIBERATELY CRUSHED OUT.

REVIEWS.

New Light on the Most Ancient East, the Oriental Prelude to European Pre-history. By PROFESSOR V. GORDON CHILDE. 1934. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.) 15s.

In these days of many excavations in practically all the countries of the East—even including China—it is of inestimable value that a general stocktaking of the knowledge gained should be made by so competent an authority as the writer of this book. The field-worker inevitably has a bias with regard to the relative importance of his particular “dig” and the country in which he is working in the general picture of the prehistoric past. Professor Childe, however, is able to look at the wood without the nearer trees assuming a disproportionate size. But he is no armchair archaeologist; he has seen—though he has taken no direct part in their excavation—many of the most important ancient sites, even as far east as the Indus valley. He well realises that to see a pottery jar drawn on paper does not convey nearly as much to the student as to hold it in his own hands outside the museum case.

The general plan of this book is well calculated to clear a way through the great mass of relevant and essential details; though he gives them in large numbers Professor Childe marshals these details so ably and in so orderly a manner that any fogginess is avoided. We are taken to the three great river valleys of the East in turn, the valley of the Nile, the Euphrates-Tigris valley, and the much more extensive plain of the Indus. To one who has had the unique privilege of spending long seasons in all three river valleys at excavations actually in progress, these chapters are of absorbing interest.

Proceeding to the discussion of Iran and the Assyro-Syrian and Armenian land-masses between and to the north of these great valleys, Professor Childe draws attention to the fact that “the archaism of (these) provincial regions” “may preserve elements from the earlier phases” of the more progressive cultures of the riverine plains: to those regions we may look for interesting lights on the earlier stages of the greater civilizations.

The final chapter on “The Mechanism of Diffusion” lucidly sums up the general impressions on that all-important subject that arise from the great mass of evidence garnered in these last few years.

A few minor errors, such as “the Nilghary Hills of Kashmir” (p. 210), serve, like the irregularity in an Eastern rug which emphasizes the fact that “Allah alone is perfect,” to draw attention to the general excellence of the whole. The book is couched throughout in terms of admirable moderation, save only where (p. 157) “an imposing citadel” and “town” emerge from the three small low mounds of Jemdet Nasr.

There seems every prospect of a great renewal of archaeological activity throughout the Orient during the next few years. A periodical stocktaking such as Professor Childe’s would be most helpful.

D. MACKAY.



The Dawn of Conscience. By JAMES HENRY BREASTED. 431 pp., 19 pls. 1934. (New York and London: Charles Scribner’s Sons.) 12s. 6d.

Professor Breasted’s book is a disappointment. Though more ambitious in scope and size than his *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, it has not the arresting quality of that work. This is probably because the author has attempted to cast his net too wide. Had he confined himself

to the dawn and development of conscience in Ancient Egypt only, the book would have merited unstinted praise. But when he claims that the sense of moral guilt began only with the written word he is demonstrably wrong, for conscience can be found in an elementary form among the lower animals. This being the case, it is obvious that in the millennia preceding the invention of writing conscience had not only dawned but was sufficiently developed to be formulated and set down when writing became possible. When Professor Breasted deals with documents his opinions must always command respect; it is only when he tries a reconstruction without documentary evidence that he fails. He has, however, done great service to all thoughtful readers by showing how much the religious and ethical ideas of ancient Egypt influenced the Hebrew Scriptures, and through them the whole of the modern world. Though this is a subject which has already claimed the attention of many scholars, it has not hitherto been given to the world in so sympathetic and attractive a form.

M. A. MURRAY.

Studies in the History of Culture, No. 1. The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and its Connection with Other Scripts. By G. R. HUNTER. Pp. 210, pls. 37. 1934. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd.) 21s.

The author cannot be congratulated on this book. To publish by photography the uncorrected typescript of a Ph.D. thesis is hardly complimentary to his readers. "Polysyllabic," "Mohenjodard," "50" instead of "so," may be typist's errors, but that they remain in the published script points to gross carelessness in correction. Again, the spaces left for the insertion of the hand-written signs are so wrongly calculated that long blanks are often left; p. 37, for example, should have been entirely re-typed before publication. As the book is ostensibly on the script of ancient India and its connection with other scripts, the reader has a right to expect that the Indian signs should be drawn in exact facsimile and not in the rough-and-ready shorthand which the author probably used in his own notebooks. That the sign  with its beautiful curves and delicate widening of the lower strokes, should be travestied as  both in the script and in the plates, does not permit of any real comparison. The Egyptian hieroglyphs, with which the author compares the Indian script, are equally caricatured. When the presentation of the subject is so careless and inadequate it is difficult to think that the author's conclusions can be of value. He offers little more in this volume than has already been given to the world by competent scholars in "Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization," edited by Sir John Marshall. He claims to have discovered case endings, but in view of the general carelessness of his work as shown in his book, even this claim should be regarded with some caution. At present our knowledge of the Indian script is confined to seals and other small objects, which probably present nothing more than proper names. Until a great deal more material, preferably an inscription of some length, is available, a book such as this is necessarily superfluous.

M. A. MURRAY.

Un Socialisme d'État Quinze Siècles avant J.-C. By SERGE DAIRAINES. Pp. 167, no illustrations. 1934. (Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 13, Rue Jacob, Paris (VI^e).) Frs. 36.

The central idea of this book is not connected sufficiently with its subject-matter, most of which, in fact, is left quite unrelated to it. There is no exposi-

tion of the chief aspects of state socialism, and so none of the actual character of that of the Egyptian XVIIIth dynasty.

It is also a mistaken idea. State socialism could not exist in an age as limited in material knowledge and development and imaginative width as the one in question, when there was no scope for the direct swaying of the material conditions, outlook, and behaviour of a people by its rulers. The control of the economic and social life of the people, remarkable though it was, was the mere order of strong autocracy, and was not inspired by ideas of a particular political idealism.

The XVIIIth dynasty was not the greater for being the first to realize the value of Justice, as justice in a ruler is in exact proportion to the nobility of his ideas, and is meaningless as a particular ideal. As M. Dairaines admits, the ideal of justice was thus emphasised because the democratisation of religion now necessitated the Pharaoh's basing his power to a certain extent on his importance to his country.

A meaningless expression, apropos of the Pharaohs' ideas of justice and liberty, is: ". . . (l'art de cette époque) qui dans toutes ses manifestations révèle sous la XVIII^e dynastie un abandon de l'art réaliste des précédentes époques en faveur d'un art qui suggère plus qu'il n'exprime réellement."

There can be little doubt that the absence of great art and great ideas of any kind in the New Kingdom means that it was an age of comparative spiritual decadence even in the first half of the XVIIIth dynasty: its best period. Old Kingdom slaves may well have lived better lives than XVIIIth dynasty free men; and there can be no question about the cultured classes.

However, the book is very clearly written, well-balanced and complete. As a review of every aspect of the state's structure it is admirable in every way, above all in that it shows the relative importance of the things it describes. The main theme of the need for and the nature of the autocracy and its struggle with disruptive tendencies is treated well, though not very deeply. It is rather vague, however, when dealing with Akhenaton, whose importance, also, it over-emphasises.

R. M. COX.

A Short History of Ancient Egypt. By ARTHUR WEIGALL. Pp. 280, pls. 15. 1934. (Chapman and Hall.) 8s. 6d.

A short and concise history of Egypt has been a long-felt want. All Egyptian histories hitherto have appealed only to advanced students, but Mr. Weigall's volume is intended for the interested layman. Mr. Weigall's writings have always shown a vivid sense of the picturesque and a human quality which make his books worth reading. This, his posthumous work, is no exception to that rule. It is well written; and even the later periods of the history, which are shirked by most historians, are made alive. Take, for example, the description of Psametek I, "his portraits show him to have been in later life a shrewd and business-like personage, with a long nose, a canny eye, and a plump and prosperous appearance about the cheeks and chin." The book is too short to allow of more than the broad outlines of historical events, but these are given pleasantly and accurately. The minor inaccuracies, *e.g.*, labelling pl. XV "Luxor" instead of "Dendera," are probably due to the fact that the author did not live to make the final corrections.

M. A. MURRAY.

JOURNALS

QUARTERLY OF DEPT. OF ANTIQUITIES, PALESTINE ; III, 3. 1933. (London : Milford.) 5s.

ILIFFE, J. H.—*Nabatean Pottery from the Negeb*.—Nabatean pottery of the Hellenistic period has now been found in the Negeb between Beersheba and Kosseima, where hitherto only Byzantine remains had attracted attention. From the IVth century B.C., the Nabateans, an Arab race, grew wealthy by reason of their position on the trade routes across Arabia. They wrote in Aramaic, adopted Greek culture, and built remarkable temples, tombs, houses, and amphitheatres, chiefly at Petra. They also made a pottery of fine texture and decoration. The kingdom was reduced by Trajan to part of the Roman colony of Arabia ; but Nabatean art lived on, and had a wide influence even into the early days of Islam. Nabatean sherds had already been found near Gaza, the Mediterranean terminus of the trade route through Petra from the Persian Gulf and Arabia.

Do. ; III, 4. 1933.

JOHNS, C. N.—*Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1932) ; the Ancient Tell and the Outer Defences of the Castle*.—Evidence has been found that the site was occupied at the transitional period between the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, *i.e.*, in the XVIth and XVth centuries B.C., and that it remained in occupation practically continuously to the end of the Roman period.

An interesting resumé gives the main finds at some fifteen sites in Palestine that were excavated in the season 1932-3 by the Department of Antiquities, and by British, Jewish, American, French and Danish expeditions. A bibliography of these excavations follows.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND. Quarterly. April, 1934.

CROWFOOT, J. W.—*An Expedition to Balu'ah*.—The find of a rude basalt slab at Balu'ah in Moab led to an examination of the site. The pottery found dated chiefly from the Early Iron Age, c. 1200-900 B.C., though a few sherds point to an occupation earlier than 2000 B.C. The Kasr and ruined houses are comparatively late and of no great interest.

GARROD, D. A. E.—*Excavations at the Wady al-Mughara, 1932-3*.—In the Tabūn (Oven) cave, work has been carried down to Layer Tabūn G, which rests immediately on bedrock. This layer appears to correspond with Breuil's Tayacian II, occurring below a bed containing Acheulean hand-axes.

ENGBERG, R. M., and SHIPTON, G. M.—*Another Sumerian Seal Impression from Megiddo*.—Three animal cylinder seal impressions appear to date from the Early Dynastic Period of Sumer, *i.e.*, the beginning of the third millenium B.C.

GASTER, T. H.—*The Beth-Shemesh Tablet and the Origins of Ras-Shamra Culture*.—The discovery at Beth-Shemesh of a tablet written in Ras-Shamra script lends a measure of support to the writer's view that the Semitic civilisation of Ras-Shamra (Ugarit) was imported from the Negeb and the Sinai peninsula. A summary is given of the evidence for this view.

ANNALS OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY—UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL.
Vol. XX, Nos. 1-4. 1933.

GARSTANG, J.—*Jericho: City and Necropolis*.—A further series of tombs of the Middle Bronze Age is described. A preliminary account of the investigations in the Palace Area mentions fifty-eight store-rooms built at the beginning of the Hyksos period. The products of Middle Bronze II art "disclose the later Hyksos period as the brightest phase in the history of Canaanitish civilisation."

BURTON, T. B.—*Anatolian Relations with the Ægean before 2400 B.C.*—By the evidence of the pottery it appears that the greater part of the Bronze Age civilisations of the Ægean, of the western coast of Anatolia, and of Cyprus before 2400 B.C. was brought by sea from the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and not from Anatolia.

CAMPBELL THOMPSON, R., and MALLOWAN, M. E. L.—*British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-2*.—The excavation of the Temple of Ishtar and the large pit dug down some 90 feet through the mound of Kouyunjik to virgin soil were the main features of the season's programme. Mr. Mallowan deals with the stratification, Dr. Campbell Thompson with the inscriptions, and Messrs. Dudley Buxton, Beck and Harden contribute notes on bones, and beads, and glass respectively.

MAN. November, 1933.

O'BRIEN, T. P.—*Chalcolithic Cave Site in North Syria*.—A cave in a small ravine near Tell Jedede, halfway between Aleppo and Antioch, was excavated in September, 1932. Black hand-made pottery, burnished and incised, a Neolithic lance-point of flint, and obsidian flakes were among the finds. Human bones were too fragmentary for exact study.

GARDNER, E. W., and CATON-THOMPSON, G.—*Kharga Expedition*.—Geological problems outstanding from season 1931-2 were cleared up by Miss Gardner in the last of the three seasons' programme of prehistoric research in the oasis. Important finds of palaeolithic tools were made. A note is added by Miss Caton-Thompson on the necessity for some revision of the Antiquities Laws of Egypt and elsewhere "to safeguard the rightful claims of national collections without hindering the advance of scientific prehistoric research."

Do. February, 1934.

CATON-THOMPSON, G.—*The Camel in Dynastic Egypt*.—A twist of haircord from gypsum quarries in the northern Fayum scarp excavated in 1927-8 shows the camel to have existed in Egypt in the early Old Kingdom.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK: A GUIDE TO THE COLLECTIONS. Part I: *Ancient and Oriental Art*. 1934. (London: Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.) cents 25.

The Guide to the Collections has been divided into two parts and rearranged with a view to providing the visitor with "a more logical and instructive way of seeing the several departments." For each department a short survey is given of the history of the art to be studied there, with a plan of the galleries, followed by brief statements of the significance of the most important exhibits in them: a page and an illustration for each room.

D. M.

NOTES AND NEWS.

We propose to resume the publication of Egyptian portrait-statues which was so marked a feature of *Ancient Egypt* in its early years.

A Lantern Lecture on Recent Discoveries at Gaza, Palestine, will be given by Professor Sir Flinders Petrie, F.R.S., at University College, Gower Street, W.C.1, on

Thursday, June 14th, at 3 p.m.,

and will be repeated on

Saturday, June 16th, at 3 p.m., and

Tuesday, June 19th, at 5.30 p.m.

The lecture is open to the public without fee or ticket.

In Egypt, the further examination of the site of Tell el-Amarna by Mr. Pendlebury for the Egypt Exploration Society has yielded some interesting finds; notably, a letter from Akhenaton to the Governor of Ascalon and fragments of dictionaries. For the Sir Robert Mond Expedition to Arment Mr. Oliver Myers has completed the excavation of the Buccheum, and has also done some work on a prehistoric cemetery. A full report of the many important finds is shortly to appear.

From Palestine, Miss Dorothy Garrod writes: "I am starting what is to be the last season of work in the Wady Mughara caves, and my object is to explore thoroughly the lowest layers (Acheulean and Tayacian) of the cave known as the Tabūn, the largest of the group. These layers were reached in a sounding last year, and promise to be of great interest for the study of the Lower Palaeolithic in this region."

In Iraq the excavations of Ur have been brought to a close after twelve seasons. Even yet it is hard to assess the great value of the work of Dr. Woolley and his colleagues. Not only has our knowledge of history been widened beyond all anticipation, but the spectacular discovery of the Royal Tombs and of the scenes enacted at the burial of the Sumerian monarchs has aroused public interest in archaeological exploration to a degree only equalled hitherto on the occasion of the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen.

A second book of the Ur Excavations series has just been published, at the remarkably reasonable price of three guineas, thanks to the munificence of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. *The Royal Cemetery*, though intended for the serious student of archaeology, is a book also for the student of art: the coloured reproductions by Miss Louise Baker of many fine examples of Sumerian art most ably assist Dr. Woolley's gifted pen to convey the remarkable development of the arts and crafts in those ancient times.

Two important little exhibitions have recently been held in London.

1. In the Nineveh Gallery of the British Museum. Arpachiyah, a mound near Nineveh, was excavated by Mr. Mallowan for the British School of Archaeology in 'Iraq. His finds show two main periods, in the earlier of which pottery of the well-known Tell Halaf culture was a conspicuous feature.

2. At the Courtauld Institute, Portman Square, a small but extremely interesting collection of Chinese antiquities has been on view. The objects are chiefly from the Old Lo-yang tombs, but unfortunately they were not excavated scientifically; much of their value is therefore lost. The jade buckles and other jade objects are exquisitely carved in delicate relief, and the glass beads and vases with glass decoration show that the making of glass in China extends to a period several centuries anterior to the date usually accepted as the time of its introduction into that country. The chief exhibits were published in the *Illustrated London News* on October 8th, November 4th, December 9th, of last year, and the glass on May 12th, 1934.

It is announced that what was previously the Sixth Egyptian Room at the British Museum is now reopened as the Babylonian Room. The treasures from the Royal Tombs at Ur occupy a prominent position in the chronologically arranged exhibits.

OBITUARY.

FRANCIS LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH.

1863-1934.

THE loss of my oldest Egyptian companion, Professor Griffith, brings back a history of work which has been passed over in the notices recently published on his life. As there is no-one else to remember those days, it is fitting that they should be recorded here, though other writers have given an outline of his later life.

In 1884 I had a letter from a young man whose love of hieroglyphics overshadowed his training for law. Writing to Miss Edwards, who was the main-spring of the Egypt Exploration Fund, I urged that "I will do everything in my power to ensure such a chance" of growing an English Egyptologist. The subject was not yet popular, and there was a dearth of aspirants in England. The Exploration Committee agreed to Griffith joining me, and so began his Egyptian career. We settled at Naukratis on December 1st, 1884, a site which I had found in the previous season, and we began to clear up the Early Greek material which was then so little known. It was the first view of the Greek in Egypt before Alexander. Piles of scraps of Greek vases and dedications from 650 B.C. and onward, architectural fragments, and foundation deposits were the spoil which opened new vistas, to say nothing of the hoards of coins, the tools and the weights, all covering new ground. It was a fine varied training for both of us, especially as it was so new that the usual classical scholar could not help us.

The next season Ernest Gardner took over Naukratis as his opening in such life, while Griffith and I went on to the Eastern Delta. There we found the temple of Am Pehu, Tell Nebesheh, after which Griffith turned to neighbouring sites, while I went on to Defenneh. From Nebesheh he went with Sayce exploring for a month the Eastern way to Palestine in April and May, 1886.

In 1886-7 we joined in a small boat, and went up the Nile from Minieh to

Aswan: this I have described in the volume of studies presented to Griffith last year; we published a joint volume of inscriptions from that trip. On returning north I stayed for survey at Dahshur, while Griffith left me on February 22nd, 1887, and joined Naville in work at Tell el-Yehudiyeh. From there he left on March 30th for a long trek along the road to El Arish, which he described in detail in "The Mound of the Jew." In that he inveighed strongly against the destructive working methods of most excavators, and insisted that full attention should be given to all the remains. He was a thorough archaeologist in his mind, though withdrawn later to give his energies to philology.

In May, 1887, he copied the Dronkeh tombs which we had seen in going up the river. In 1887-8 Griffith excavated at Terraneh in the western Delta, went on to Heliopolis in December, and explored further on the eastern side. In the summer of 1888 he was recruited by Franks for his Department of the British Museum, and submerged in general archaeology.

When I settled at University College, 1892, Griffith came to lodge with me in Torrington Square, and we worked up the publication of the Egyptian Tales. I left him there when I went off to Koptos. In the summer of 1896 there came a very strong influence on his whole life, from his marriage to Kate Bradbury. She had been the companion of Miss Edwards in her lecturing tour in America of 1891, had nursed her through the trouble of her broken arm, and brought her home. It was the strain of lecturing when crippled by that accident which so weakened Miss Edwards that her death followed soon after her return. Miss Bradbury, the only child of a prosperous mill owner in Lancashire, gave her life seriously to archaeology, was brought on to the Exploration Committee, and took an active part in those matters. She tried to keep affairs straight, and looked to Griffith to give voice in the Committee, which he was loath to do. "Oh, I could shake him!" she used to say when deploring his silence. After four years of this they married, and she was devoted to furthering his work in every way. Her death a few years later marked the end of a period, that of Poole, Newton, Miss Edwards and the older connections. Henceforward the new interests which surrounded his second period belonged to this century rather than the last.

All the wealth of work on Hieratic, Demotic, and Nubian which he explored so successfully has been outlined in many recent obituaries which have appeared, but his first twenty years of activities should not be lost to sight in estimating a character so reserved, so silent, so strenuous, which undoubtedly developed much in his second period.

FLINDERS PETRIE.

PROFESSOR T. E. PEET.

1882-1934.

The death of Thomas Eric Peet at the age of 51 is the more tragic in that his biggest opportunities, both of service to Egyptology and of a rich and many-sided personal life, were only just coming to him. At Oxford he had read Mathematical as well as Classical Mods. before he took a Second in Lit. Hum. The Craven Fellowship, which followed, took him to Italy, and *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* which was the result is still the standard work on its subject. He did not reach Egypt till 1909, and it was not for another year that he began to apply himself to the linguistic study which later dominated his research work. The breadth of his early training was amply justified in his Egyptological publications. After Hall's death, he was the only trained historian of his generation; and he alone of them was capable of an edition

of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus which mathematicians outside his subject would accept. But he had passed straight from an arduous life of excavation, and field service throughout the war, to teaching at Liverpool, and there was necessarily much work to be done to catch up with his outstanding contemporaries. His appointment to Oxford last year was the public recognition that he now stood beside them. It was clear that there were to be great opportunities for developing the School at Oxford; and he must have known that every Egyptologist in the country saw in him the man best equipped to grasp the opportunity. And there would be leisure as never before for further research and publication of his own.

Peet's claim to the first rank among Egyptologists in this country is patent to all who will mark the accurate and conscientious scholarship, the ability and, above all, the wide viewpoint of his published work. He had many outside interests, including music and lawn tennis, all of which he pursued with a competence that was out of the ordinary. By every testimony a great teacher, as a man he was reserved, modest, and therefore difficult to know. Exciting to talk to, likeable from the moment one met him, he did not easily express a generous regard which was at the root of his nature, or accept the affection he quickly roused. It was, perhaps, only after staying in his home that it was possible to know the strength of his friendship.

S. R. K. GLANVILLE.

MR. ALBERT M. LYTHGOE.

In the death of Mr. A. M. Lythgoe after a long illness Egyptology has suffered yet another serious loss. For many years Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and head of its Egyptian Expedition, he was the mainspring of American archaeological effort in Egypt; and his periodical visits there with his charming wife were looked for by the archaeologists of other nations with equal interest. The strong support he gave to British as well as to American excavators at the time of the strained relations with the Egyptian Government concerning the tomb of Tutankhamen will long be remembered with gratitude. Though his output of published work was not very large, his wide knowledge and his enthusiasm, combined with a very kindly personality and marked administrative ability, carried the American contribution to Egyptology far.

PÈRE ALEXIS MALLON, S.J.

The death of Père Alexis Mallon, S.J., has created a gap in the small band of Coptic scholars. Though his Boheiric Grammar was published in 1904, a generation ago, it has not been superseded and still holds the field. During the last few years he directed the excavations at Teleilat Ghassul on the east side of Jordan. A short account of his work there appeared in this Journal in 1931.

DR. DAVIDSON BLACK.

The death of Dr. Davidson Black at the early age of 49 is a great loss to science. Though he had already made in 1929 the remarkable find of Peking man, *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*, he was convinced that he was only at the beginning of the discoveries to be made in the fossil deposits at Chou Kou-tien. He had been looking forward to taking up work there again with the European and Chinese colleagues to whom his enthusiasm was so great an inspiration.